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शीर्षक Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia

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A. K. NARAIN

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STUDIES IN BUDDHIST ART OF SOUTH ASIA

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PREFACE

Buddhist art, by sheer amount of material spread over whole of Asia and because its cultural and religious impact and its bearing on the development of various national or regional art histories, has by now become an independent discipline in its own right. With the shrinking world in our times it is imperative to have a global perspective in our studies. There are some basic issues and minimum features which can easily be identified and can form the starting point of scholarly studies. With such goals in view after founding the International Association of Buddhist Studies on the occasion of the first International conference on the history of Buddhism in 1976, I organized panels and studies on Buddhist art at the University of Wisconsin. This book contains contributions from one of these panels along with an introductory article by me. I hope to publish other contributions in future.

As with everything else related to the Buddha and history of Buddhism, the Indian elements and beginnings in South Asia are vital for the understanding of the overall development of Buddhist art. For the first three hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha, i.e. until the end of the Maurya-Sunga period, its essential character in India remained symbolic and aniconic. This is followed by a period of transition extending for almost a hundred years when it passes through a phase of new experiments as a result of its interaction with diverse ethnic and cultural elements, both indigeneous and foreign. By the end of the first century A.D. it finally emerges from its abstraction and takes more definite forms and acquires more popular and wider base. Although the outlines of the course of development are clear the details are still being debated. By the time these debates are over one finds oneself facing the beautiful synthesis of spirit and matter which took place in the Gupta period when the classical forms of Buddhist art in India were born and the impact was gradually felt far and wide in Asia. This period of acme leads to another phase of abstraction which is impregnated with mystic meanings under a camouflage of a complicated concretisation of form which is at once mundane and sublime.

Out of the seven contributions presented here the first three deal with the origin and early history of the Buddha/Bodhisattva image. The remaining four touch upon issues of diverse nature of significance based on new discoveries and insights. While the first three along with the fourth cover between them the post-Asokan phase in which on the one hand the Buddha/Bodhisattva image was born, and on the other the Budhist narrative art received its definition. The sixth

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and the seventh take us to the classical forms of Ajanta and late outward extensions of the style of standing Buddhas in Bamiyan and throw light on their chronology. The last contribution pertaining to the Pala period delves into the nature and meaning of religious practices and the art it fostered during the Tantric phase of Buddhist activity in South Asia. Hopefully, the contributions will provoke further discussions but that will be our reward.

The authors and the editor appreciate the interest taken by Mr. Jayant Baxi in publishing these contributions. I also take this opportunity to thank Ms. Grace Morley for reading the manuscripts and for her valuable suggestions.

A.K. Narain

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1

FIRST IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA AND BODHISATTVAS: IDEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

A.K. Narain

One of the most engaging problems of Buddhist art history is related to the first images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.[1] It is generally believed that a combination of such factors as the Brahmanic Bhakti movement, the Mahāyāna inspiration and the patronage of the great King Kaniṣka gave birth to the first images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. Subjectivism of scholars opting for either Greek primacy or Indian genius has for long influenced thinking on the problem. Lack of an absolute date for Kaniṣka has further complicated the issues. The nature and limitations of the archaeological and numismatic evidence and their inadequate correlation with the literary and epigraphic documentation make our task by no means easy. None the less I propose to re-examine the evidence in order to understand the ideology that inspired the making of these images and to determine the chronology of the first extant examples.

It is well known that the Buddha's last instructions were to give the Dhamma and Vinaya precedence over him after his *parinirvāṇa*.[2] He did not want his disciples to accept his words on faith and there is no doubt that he was opposed to the Bhakti idea. Although a variety of later traditions would have us believe that images were made to please his contemporaries like Pasendi, Udayana and Anāthapiṇḍika, and later even Aśoka and Menander,[3] so far no examples have been found to substantiate them. In this endeavour to take the message of the Buddha to the people Aśoka resorted to such visual spectacles as heavenly chariots, celestial elephants, luminous objects and other divine forms.[4] Some scholars may like to interpret the 'divine forms' (*divyāni rūpāni*) mentioned above in the sense of images of the gods but I think the context and the ideology of Aśoka indicate that these had only an edificatory value and were not objects of regular worship (*pūjā*). Aśoka's reference to the pilgrimages he made to the sacred places associated with the main events of the life of the Buddha[5] also does not provide any clue to the presence and worship of images of the Buddha in those places. So far as the *śarira* or *rūpa* of the Buddha was concerned Aśoka had to be content with only the opening of the original stupas and redistributing the corporeal remains of the Buddha into a larger number of stupas spread all over his empire.

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The next prominent royal patron of Buddhism was Menander. In spite of the fact that the Indo-Greeks were familiar with anthropomorphic representations of gods, the fact remains that the only Buddhist object found on the coins of Menander is a *dharmacakra*.[6]

Why did monarchs like Aśoka and Menander not encourage making and worshipping of images of the Buddha and/or the Bodhisattva ? Firstly, as all studies on the origin, antiquity and development of image making and worship indicate, it had not, in general, become a part of the milieu in most parts of India, at least not in the higher classes of society so far as the gods and goddesses of higher traditions were concerned.[7] The Śramaṇa tradition, to which Buddhism and Jainism belonged, was as "great" as the Brāhmaṇa tradition and patrons of both came from the higher strata of society.[8] When sources like Pāṇinī,[9] Kauṭilya,[10] and Megasthenes[11] refer to images their lists hardly include deities from the "higher" orthodox Vedic pantheon and such of them who were included could never effectively survive in the role of cult deities. Their information is related mostly to the deified local folk heroes, gaurdian deities and divinities of exotic origins. Secondly, there was a clear ideological obligation arising out of the worlds of the Buddha and the creed of the orthodox Theravāda to which both Aśoka and Menander subscribed.

It is useful to note here a geo-cultural factor too. Archaeology has shown the presence of both iconic and aniconic practices in the Harappa culture, the artefacts of which are now found spread out from Shortugai, north of the Hindukush, to parts of Gujarat and Maharashtra in western India. The first image of a deity seated (cross-legged, whoever he was, whether Paśupati, a *jina*, or a vegetal god, is no doubt one of the hall-marks of the so-called Indus valley civilization. Irrespective of the reasons of the end of this first urban civilization in South Asia the archaeological evidence again clearly shows absence of iconic practice for at least a millennium following it. It is also interesting to note that all the three citable and reliable sources mentioned above before the time of Aśoka either belonged to the north-west or were exposed to that region. It is evident that the authors of the Vedic Brahmanic tradition were opposed to iconism. Image making and image worship went out of vogue first in the Harappa culture zone. In the Gangetic valley and in Central India the Vedic style could flourish without being iconoclastic because there was hardly any iconic practice preceding the Vedic age in these areas. By the time aniconism or symbolism became the norm in this area, the north-west had begun rediscovering its old style in a limited way and its impact was felt in the Indo-Gangetic divide which included the Mathura region. The rediscovering process in the north-west was helped also by events taking place in the contiguous further west where the Indo-European speaking cousins of the Vedic authors had not been so iconoclastic as they were in India. It is well known that the Greeks and the Iranians in the west were not so much fond of abstract symbols as their so-called 'aryan' cousins in India; on the contrary the former seem to have adapted faster in continuing the major elements of preceding cultural traditions in their new habitation in the west that the latter in the east.[12]

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No discussion on the origin of the Buddha/Bodhisattva images can afford to ignore the background discussed above. What is surprising is that Aśoka and Menander both found it difficult to encourage or patronize making of the image of their 'hero' who was being hailed as a *Cakkavatti* and in whose image they found emulative ideals suitable to their style.

One can understand why Aśoka was reluctant in taking the initiative in Magadha; for there was hardly any preceding model available to him in that region; but why should he be inhibited in doing so in the north-western parts of his empire where he could find earlier prototypes ? So also why should Menander who was so familiar with the practice of image making in the west be shy ? This can only be explained by the ideological compulsions internal to the Theravāda which they patronized.[13]

But both the external and internal factors yielded room to new forces. In fact, to some extent Aśoka, wittingly or unwittingly, and to a great extent the Indo-Greeks perhaps with some audacity, were responsible for planting the seeds for this change.

Aśoka's activities in relation to Buddhism were directed towards strengthening the Sangha, maintaining the doctrinal purity of the core Theravāda and sending missionaries to various parts of his empire and outside. His role in maintaining doctrinal purity did not permit him to include the image of the Buddha/Bodhisattva in his program of spreading Buddhism. The same motivation inspired him to issue the Sarnath edict against schism as well as to convene the third Buddhist Sangīti which in Magadha threw the dissenters to the core Theravāda out of the fold. Sarvāstivādins were among them and they moved westward to Mathura and Kashmir and later to Gandhāra. On the other hand Aśoka's ideology of "Dhamma" was of wider import. It was definitely inspired by what he understood of Buddhism but it was also more than that. It was meant to be a culture of religion and it generated also what may be called a polity of religion, in which major elements of the decision making processes were required or supposed to participate.[14] Through this ideology Aśoka aimed at several goals. He wanted to reach out to his people directly and win over their loyalty. In fact he was using his ideology for the purpose of legitimation of his power and authority.[15] He undermined the importance and role of priestly agency, both Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa. Yet was respectful and generous to both. He remained committed to maintaining the doctrinal purity of Buddhism and thus took care not to antagonize the leaders of the Sangha by promoting Buddha/Bodhisattva image. But the populism of "Dhamma" and weakening of the authority of the priestly elitism in both the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa camps released such forces of change that brought to surface again a variety of local cults, beliefs, gods, goddesses with a new vigour and devotion. Bhakti became a pan-Indian movement and showed up soon after the death of Aśoka even in those parts of his empire where earlier models were hardly visible. This aspect of "little" traditions could not be ignored by religious leadership. While the purists and orthodox of the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa camps still shied away the liberal and the recalcitrant ones prepared

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themselves to modify their creeds to fit into the prevailing milieu. The Sarvāstivāadins, with their realism, were perhaps one in the latter camp. So also were some among kings after Aśoka. While the Śungas and Sātavāhanas depended upon Vedic orthodoxy and revival of Vedic sacrifices for their legitimation of power the local and tribal kings of northern and central India as well as those of foreign origin extended their patronage to the cults and deities of local importance or of 'little' traditions or of exotic origins.

The Indo-Greeks played a definitive role in the rise and growth of the idea and practice of honouring and worshipping gods and goddesses, of whom they had already many. Adding a few more not only did not matter much to them but it also helped them in their policy of subjugation. From the time they crossed the Hindukush and started issuing bilingual coins they were making evidently all efforts to win acceptance from their Indian subjects. In support of their legitimation of power and authority they had either to identify some of their own deities with, what they thought, their Indian counterparts or to adopt the local folk deities, heroes and cult objects popular in their kingdom. The one oft-quoted concrete evidence of the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus now gets doubly confirmed by the discovery of the queer figures of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa on the coins of Agathocles[16] found in the stratified digging at Ai Khanoum on the banks of river Oxus. Now, not only the information about the antiquity of the Bhāgavat cult is pushed back further by more than one half of a century but the whole process of experimentation in providing anthropomorphic representation of the local deities becomes clear; we can argue more confidently now about the role of foreign ethnics in the formulation of the earliest icons of some of the Indian gods and goddesses.[17,18] In any case, the main point here is that the Bhakti movement, which was a part of folk culture to start with, had already acquired royal patronage at least by 200 B.C. if not earlier in the north-western parts of South Asia. By the time the Indo-Greeks were succeeded by the Sakas and the Pahlavas they, with their gods and goddesses had already become part of the Indian milieu so much so that the Sakas and the Pahlavas used their motifs indiscriminately along with other local deities and symbols for their own acceptance in the areas they had moved into. For all practical purposes some of the Greek deities had ceased to be Greek at all while others had lost their importance. The list of local elements as well as divinities went on increasing during the time of the Sakas and the Pahlavas who like their predecessors had also become Indianized.

Against this background and on the basis of what follows below I have no hesitation now in reviving some theories about the first images of the Buddha, or for that matter of Bodhisattvas, forsaken for hardly strong reasons. I wish we had material evidence to substantiate the reference in the *Milindapañho* about Nāgasena producing the image of the Buddha for his royal disciple Menander.[19] But as we have mentioned above Menander was still hesitant to depict more than the Dharmacakra on some of his copper coins. If he did more than that we must wait for the spade of the lucky archaeologist ! But within half a century of Menander's death (*c.* 130 B.C.) chages took place in the north-eastern parts of his

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kingdom.[20] I have already shown[21] how the Sakas from the Upper Ili regions moved south by crossing the Pamirs through the northern passes and spread out in the submontane Karakorum and finally reached Chi pin, i.e. the Swat valley and adjoining regions of Kashmir. By about 100 B.C. these Sakas under their Chief Maues were already controlling considerable territories north and north-east of Gandhāra. The Sakas replaced the Yavanas first in the Swat valley and later in Hazara and Tanila. It is gratifying to note that recent discoveries in the Karakorum made by the joint German and Pakistani teams strengthen my account at the Saka history.[22] The implications and importance of these discoveries, along with the results of the earlier works of the Italian team in the Swat valley,[23] are indeed great and they will continue to be discussed more and more as detailed accounts of the material are published and opportunities for first hand examination become available. In the meanwhile I may venture to make a limited use of whatever preliminary reports have been made available.

It is apparent now that before the Sakas reached Chi pin they had frequented the routes and regions of Karakorum and provided such political control and protection that led to increased access to and from Central Asia for traders and missionaries alike. All this in turn led to much artistic and religious activities. The ethno-cultural milieu of the area as well as linguistic factor were congenial to the Sakas and the Central Asian and Iranian elements were in direct contact here with Hellenistic Greeks.[24]

The Karakorum findings indicate that the Yavanas had not preceded the Sakas there, and the numismatic evidence supported by the recent excavations at Butkara and other Swat valley sites show that in Udyana the Sakas succeeded the Yavanas. The geography and chronology of the Saka movement of second-first centuries B.C. are clear. This also explains the distinctness of the Butkara style of Buddhist art from the typical Gandhāra both in terms of sources of inspiration and development.[25]

The epigraphic material engraved on the Karakorum rocks date from the time of Maues.[26] Since some of these epigraphs are associated with the sketches and motifs on these rocks there is no reason to doubt that the chronology of the earliest attempts to draw anthropomorphic figures begins from the time of Maues. The carvings not only indicate both the aniconic and iconic phases of religious art but also how the transition from one to the other might have taken place. Of particular importance is the Rock carving No. 81 of Chilas II where the seated figure is surely that of the Buddha/Bodhisattva.[27] The inscription below the figure has been read as *Budhaotasa*, perhaps standing for *Bodhisattvasa*. I agree with Dani that "the origin of its form can be traced from the neighboring stupa which gives the outline from which the figure can be derived."[28]

But before we return to Maues and the chronology of the first Buddha/Bodhisattva images we must note the sectarian development and ideological changes in Buddhism and their geographical and political contexts. This is related to the rise and impact of a new recalcitrant sect of Theravāda Buddhism known as Sabbatthivāda.

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Sabbatthivāda or Sarvāstivāda, which was closely allied with the Theravādins, separated as an independent school before or soon after the Third Buddhist Council held during Aśoka's reign. The leaders of the school established themselves in Mathura and Kashmir.[29] The latter place in fact became their principal seat where their doctrine was taught in its purity and gradually developed into an elaborate system known as the Vaibhāṣika.[30] From their Kashmir base the Sarvāstivādins spread to Central Asia in the north and Gandhāra in the south as well as to Kapiśa, Tukhāra and other countries in the west and north-west. The predominance of this Hīnayāna school in these areas is amply confirmed by the reports of Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hsien, Hsuan Tsang and I-T'sing.[31]

The Sarvāstivādins were affirmative in their stance and subscribed to a philosophy of 'realism' that "everthing exists."[32] Without going into the metaphysical nuances of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine here suffice it to say that they received popular support. It has been rightly noted that "the credit of popularising the religion through the Jātakas and Avadānas is due, in the first instance, to the Sarvāstivādins, and later, to the Theravādins." This is not the place to go into a fuller discussion of the origin and development of the *Kāya* theory and also of the question of authorship of works like *Divyāvadāna*, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara* but their Sarvāstivādin background is undeniable. An ideological basis for the existence of a Buddha/Bodhisattva image was unquestionably provided by the Sarvāstivādins. This also took care of the challenge posed by the Bhakti movement in the Brahmic fold. One may recall the evidence of the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya where the Buddha is supposed to have granted permission to Anāthapiṇḍika to make the images of at least the Bodhisattvas if not of the Buddha. Whether Anāthapiṇḍika took advantage of the permission and actually produced such images we have no means to confirm; but we have already noted earlier that no example has survived which may be dated to the time of the Buddha or that of Aśoka or even that of Menander. Since both Aśoka and Menander patronized the orthodox Theravāda sect one may understand the position. But politics and religion once again conspire for mutual benefits. The Sakas needed to strengthen the legitimation of their rule and the recalcitrant Sarvāstivādins needed royal munificence and patronage for their ideology of realism. Kings and merchants have always played significant roles in the history of Buddhism. The Sakas were controlling the northern routes to and from Central Asia and their protection must have been of great help to the Buddhist missionaries and as well as to the traders, most of whom were perhaps Buddhists. The Sakas and the Sarvāstivādins joined hands and the time for the birth of the Buddha image had arrived. That the Sakas were patrons of the Sarvāstivādins is clear from their epigraphic documents in Mathura and in the north-west.

But where did the birth of the image of Buddha/Bodhisattva take place? Strictly speaking Gandhāra is out of the question. The choice is between Mathura and Udyāna-Kashmir. The case for Mathura has already been put forward by art historians and there is a growing inclination to date the beginning of the Buddha image there in the Pre-Kaniṣka period. Some seek models in the early

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Jain images on the Āyāgapatas[33] and some in the folk cult of the Yakṣas.[34] But the fact remains that there is no testimony for a Buddha or Bodhisattva image in Mathura of the Pre-Kuṣāṇa period. The Sakas, who patronized the Sarvāstivādins, came to Mathura later, so even if some examples date from their times that would be later than their preceding career in Kashmir, Udyān and even Gandhāra. At this stage it would be interesting to re-examine one of the coin-types of Maues which, in my opinion, provides another of the first examples of the Buddha/ Bodhisattva image.

This coin-type has been variously described and discussed by numismatists and art-historians.[35] Basically it depicts on its obverse an elephant advancing to right holding a wreath in its upraised trunk as if to place it on some object, and on the reverse a human figure seated cross-legged on a throne or a pedestal (according to some it is a cushion), with both hands meeting on the lap as if meditating. Both the obverse and reverse motifs are shown within a rectangular frame. The legend on the obverse reads *Basileus Mayoy* and on the reverse it is *Rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa.* There is a monogram in the right field. Below the monogram. there is a small horizontal line placed between the elbow point and the knee; this has been described by some as a sword on, or across, his knees. I have examined specimens of this type and I am convinced that whatever it may be it is certainly not a sword or a part of it. In fact, some of the specimens seem to link the tiny horizontal line with the monogram or with the space occupied by the monogram in such a manner that it gives an impression of being a part of it.[36] Some numismatists have described the seated figure as that of the king and they compare it to a coin-type of Azes. But before dealing with the coin of Azes we must notice what Longworth Dames observed in a review of R.B. Whitehead's *Cotalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum* :[37]

> A close examination of the plates and of three specimens in my possession fails to confirm the presence of a sword, the horizontal line to the right being probably part of the seat. The attitude of the figure seems to justify its identification as a seated Buddha, very like the seated Buddha on Kanishka's coin, BMC Pl XXXII, 14. If this attribution is correct it is probably the earliest appearance of Buddha in coinage.

It may be noted that Longworth Dames was not concerned with the controversy over the origin of the Buddha image and this was certainly not an issue in 1914; he as a keen numimatist was merely interpreting a particular coin-type. V.A. Smith left the question whether the figure is a king or a god open. Codrington did not rule out the possibility.[38] But the most forceful note comes from W.W. Tarn. Although I do not agree with the context and motive of Tarn in using the evidence of this coin-type, his description of the coin and interpretation is worth quoting in full :[39]

> First, the cushion. The object supporting the Maues figure is not a

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cushion, for it does not go down in the middle and up at the ends as real cushion does if a man sits on it; it is solid, that is, it is a pedestal or throne of some kind. Then as to the sword. The plates and coins accessible to me show clearly that Longworth Dames was right about the line; it does not go across the figure as a sword would, but there is a line on the figure's left (our right) and apparently a tiny bit of line on the figure's right; the figure interrupts the line and there is no trace of a sword hilt. It is therefore the back of a throne, and the figure is seated on one of the thrones with a back which occur so frequently as supports of statues of Buddha. It is material here that the latest numismatist to describe the coin, Mr. Whitehead in the Lahore Catalogue, does *not* mention a sword or any other object across the knees of the figure; in fact it has its hands folded in its lap in a well-known attitude of seated Buddhas, and I do not envisage a Greek artist giving a king a sword for him to fold his hands meekly over it. It hardly needs to be added that a sword is a most unlikely object for a Saca king to hold, seeing that the weapons of the steppes were bow and spear . . . . . Lastly there comes the placing of the figure on the Maues coin, which is most important. The cross-legged King Azes is of course on the obverse of his coin, that being the king's place on coins. Were the Maues figure a king, it could only be Maues himself; but it is on the *reverse*, which on coins is not the king's place but the god's place. .....

The placing of the figure, then, on the reverse should alone be conclusive that it represents Buddha, or rather from the throne and the attitude, a statue of Buddha; but whether it be conclusive or not is not actually material, for the obverse of the coin, 'elephant running with wreath in trunk', clinches the matter. The elephant is *not* running : he has both his fore feet high in the air, and any Indian Greek knew well enough that elephants do not run like that. The creature is *dancing*, dancing on its hind legs and offering a wreath to the seated figure.....: there is an earlier instance in India of an elephant offering a wreath to a god, the the Zeus of Kapisa, on a coin of Antialcidas. This settles the question of the seated figure.....The dance of the elephant.. is a religious dance before his god, like that of David Yahweh.....———; he is performing an act or reverence or worship.

Unfortunately this coin-type of Maues became a victim of Gandhāra vs Mathura controversy on Buddha image. Tarn, of course, used this evidence in support of the Gandhāra primacy and thereby underscoring the Greek role and thus reviving the ideas of Foucher and Grunwedel. To quote Tarn again,[40]

It seems evident that some of the writers I have cited are confusing two different things, history and psychology. What history desires to know is who made the first statue of Buddha, and when But this school

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is impressed with the belief that Indians ought, as as matter of psychology to have made the first statue of that revered figure and that they alone would have possessed the necessary religious vis'on (this I think is in one aspect true and I shall return to it later), they argue that what ought to have happened must have happened, a very dangerous procedure. It has led one writer to the statement that 'the essential thing to prove' what he wants to believe; it has led others to the hypothesis that if Greeks made statues of Buddha they must have been copying Indian work and that therefore we must postulate earlier Buddhas of wood or ivory which have perished without trace, a hypothesis admittedly unsupported by evidence and definitely contradicted by the fact that on the Gandhāra statues Buddha's hair is not shaved and his head is really the head not of an ascetic or a monk but of a king. Clearly what is wanted is not more theories but some definite piece of chronological evidence which shall decide whether the Gandhāra Buddha be early or late; and that evidence exists.

Now this evidence, i.e. the coin of Maues, was summarily dismissed by Lohuizen de Leeuw. Without going into the matter herself in detail she puts the burden on Coomaraswamy and observes that Tarn apparently overlooked his view.[41] But this is not true because Tarn did not overlook Coomaraswamy's view; the quotation given above actually follows his reference to the theories of Coomaraswamy and others of the Mathura school. It is interesting to note what Coomaraswamy himself states.[42] "I am inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathura; but that is not evidence. All that we can assert is that the earlier Buddha types in each area are in the local style....." This is fair enough. It is also curious when Lohuizen de Leeuw remarks,[43] "So, although Coomaraswamy's counterarguments are rather weak, he nevertheless was on the right way, perhaps as was more often the case with him, more because of an instinctively correct feeling for several matters in Indian art than because of logical reasoning and arguments." I wish Lohuizen de Leeuw had given some arguments against Tarn on this issue. But she does not, and only refers to Coomaraswamy and quotes Bachhofer and other in a footnote and merely informs that she "had an opportunity to check this opinion of Coomaraswamy and Bachhofer on observation of the coins in the Cabinet de Medailles at Paris, and it seems absolutely right." In another footnote too, when she refers to Tarn's observation that the king's place is not on the reverse of the coin-type she does not care to give an answer.[44] To the best of my knowledge Lohuizen de Leeuw never looked back on this evidence again.[45] Marshall also came to a negative conclusion without going into the whole background of the case.[46] Rosenfield too, did not take the evidence of Maues' coin seriously.[47] He notes briefly,

Another innovation of Maues' coinage is the reverse portrait of the king seated cross-legged. Although this had not been used by the Greeks

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> of the region, the full length coin portrait of a king appealed to the Ind-Scythians and was repeated by the successors of Maues..... and by the Kushans...The existing examples on Maues' coins all are extremely worn and faint, and the motif has been confused with the Buddha image. Buddhist emblems do not appear on Saka coins even though throughout India they became energetic patrons of the faith, and like the Kushans, must have been relatively open-minded.

So on the one hand Rosenfield observes that the Maues' coins-type was an 'innovation', that the Saka kings preferred 'full-length portraiture' and *not* seated posture, that the Sakas were energetic 'patrons of faith' and were 'open-minded', and on the other he fails to examine the relevant theories just because the specimens are worn and faint. I would not have blamed him if he was dealing with only the beautiful gold coins of the Kushans; he had to examine the poorly preserved copper coins of Kaniṣka too, particularly the ones with Buddha images, which are now found to have inscriptions reading *Metrago Boydo* and *Sakamano Boydo*.[48]

While rejecting the figure on Maues' coin as that of the Buddha, Coomaraswamy does state, "all that they certainly show is a type closely related to that of the seated Buddha figure when it finally appears and *can be recognised without possibility of error*."[49] Also, we must note that even Coomaraswamy is not sure that the horizontal line is a sword; he agrees that it could be "the back edge of a throne or seat."[50]

I agree with Longworth Dames and those who followed him in identifying the seated figure on Maues' coin as that of the Buddha (or Bodhisattva). But I do not agree with Tarn in using this evidence in support of the protagonists of Gandhāra precedence over Mathura or more specifically when he asserts that the *idea* of representing the founder of Buddhism as a man originated "not with India, but with Greece."[51] I agree with him that "the real question at issue is not one of style or stones but of the genesis of an idea.[52] I do not think it is necessary for me to go into the whole question of Gandhāra and Mathura controversy. The coin-type of Maues must be considered in its own right and it would be worth examining all the specimens of the type we can get hold of. If the seated figure is that of Buddha or Bodhisattva, as I believe it to be, it favours neither Gandhāra nor Mathura but territories north of Gandhāra, where Maues first ruled before entering into the Taxila region.[53] Chronologically, too, we have the earliest representation of the Buddha or Boddhisattva as a man. The material is not stone, neither schist nor red sandstone but metal. The style is simply nascent, nondescript as everything first before it gets a label; it is without a preceding model because no king before Mues issued a coin with a human figure cross-legged. The idea originated with the Buddhists themselves, specifically with the affirmative Sarvāstivādins. It is true the Sarvāstivādins were in Kashmir as well as in Mathura and in Gandhāra, and the Sakas, Pahlavas and the Kushans patronized them in all these places. But the Sakas met with them first in the upper Indus and Swat

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valleys and in the region of Kashmir. In short, it is the Saka-Sarvāstivādin combination which must be given credit for the production of the first human representation of the Buddha/Bodhisattva and it happened during the time of Maues (*circa* 95-75 B.C.), north of Gandhāra, in the Swat Valley and Kashmir. If Mathura also produced its Buddha image about the same time or within two or three decades of Maues' death the credit again will go to the local Sarvāstivādins and their Saka patrons there.[54]

We must also ask the question whether or not it is at all fair to expect the fully developed inconography of the Buddha image at the time of Maues, who came to power only three to four decades after Menander. As I have noted here and elsewhere this was the period of experimentation in which foreign ethnics were taking initiatives. Syncretism was natural. Some of the forms were even crude and bizarre. Artists were without models or if they had any, they belonged to either folk or oral traditions or of foreign origin. The free imagination of the artist needed the patronage of a powerful authority or an order to perform so that no one bothered or censored them for sacrilege. So, even if there is a sword (which, of course, I do not see) so what ? If the Ai Khanoum coins of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa show a sword-like object dangling from their bodies what is wrong if the material Sakas from Central Asia thought of putting a sword-like thing for a Bodhisattva ? They were perhaps told that the Buddha was a *Cakkavatti*. Do we not have images of Bodhisattvas, perhaps even of the Buddhas, with moustache or with crowns, jewelery and other items or attitudes associated with royalty ? It is not uncommon to find gods in the form of kings. In fact the Buddha was supposed to have all the signs of a *Chakvarti*. And does not Lohuizen de Leeuw herself talk about the "king" type ?[55] I do not think we are justified in expecting more than what we get in the time of Maues. Like the grammar of a language the rules were made after the period of early experimentation was over and when certain forms or elements survived and some did not. When the Buddhist clergy noted the *fait accompli* and the popular demand for image worship was accepted they came forward with a prescriptive iconography label and gradually a variety of idioms developed. But again the seal of the royal authority was needed and that became available with yet another great patron of Buddhism, Kaniṣka, who did not want us to doubt (thank goodness!) and gave the labels on his coinage, not only for the Buddha but also for the Śākyamuni and Maitreya Buddhas.[56] The period of time between Maues and Kaniṣka was thus the period of experimentation, of trial and error, and many models in perishable and durable materials must have been made to provide prototypes for the coins of Kaniṣka, before the Kushan standardisation took place both in Mathura and Gandhāra.

Let us now examine some new evidence and interpretations of old evidence for what happened in the two hundred years intervening Maues and Kaniṣka.[57]

Maues (*c.* 95—75 B.C.) expanded his power from the Upper Indus and Swat valleys and Hazara to Taxila, but he and his successors could not hold Taxila for long and were pushed eastwards gradually to Mathura by the Pahlava King, Azes I and his successors who came from Seistan to Gandhāra via Ghazni and the

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Kurram valley route. By 70 B.C. Azes I was in possession of Taxila.[58]

Now Azes I, too, issued a coin-type with a figure seated cross-legged[59] and for a moment one might be tempted to see in this another experiment to depict a Bodhisattva if not a Buddha. This may not be correct and hardly any one has included this coin in a discussion on the Buddha image except for dismissing anachronistically the evidence of the coin of Maues. The figure is clearly seated cross-legged on a cushion and is holding an object which has been variously described as a sword, a sceptre or 'the butt end of the great spear of the Cataphract, the *kontos*—the part for the whole, there not being room to get in the whole spear'.[60] The right hand holds an indistinct object, perhaps an aṅkuśa. It is the only coin-type in the Saka-Pahlava series (other than that of Maues discussed above) where a figure has been shown seated cross-legged. The one on Maues is on the reverse and that on Azes is on the obverse. Generally speaking the obverse is reserved for either the king, or a deity superior in status to the one shown on the reverse, or a meaningful motif having a bearing with the reverse type. Azes I issued a very large number of coins and he is invariably depicted on the obverse as riding on a horse and holding a spear. Why should he issue only one coin-type with himself seated cross-legged on the obverse ? There are two possibilities. Either his artist saw a Bodhisattva in the 'kingly' type, in the image of Azes himself; or, after succeeding Maues following numismatic conservatism in the selection of types, Azes was just imitating the coin-type of Maues without understanding its significance.[61] Surely sitting cross-legged was not customary for a horse-riding king of Central Asian origin. Be that as it may, this evidence cannot be ignored in any discussion on Buddha/Bodhisattva images.

The next important material in time sequence is the famous and amply discussed gold relic casket found in an inscribed vase in the relic chamber of a stupa at Bimaran.[62] Four copper coins of Azes II in mint condition have also been found buried in the same stupa. On the sides of the casket some figures are shown under ogives. One of them is of a Buddha and the other two flanking him on right and left could be of Sakra and Brahma, or of two laities or a prince and an ascetic, or of the patron king and a royal priest. The central figure which matters here is standing with his right hand lifted in *abhayamudrā* in front of the chest. He wears an *uṣṇīsa* and a moustache. It has been noted that this figure shares a feature with the bronze coins of Kaniṣka, bearing the legend *Śākyamuni Buddha*, which is not found on any other Gandhāra image : the cloak end is not held but draped over the Buddha's wrist. No free standing image of Śākyamuni of the Gandhāra school with these features has so far been discovered and that it is closer in several features to some of the Mathura types.[63] While this comparison is relevant for the point I am making later I do not propose here to go into the whole matter of style; it is more important to determine first the date of the work. Unfortunately the objective evidence of the discovery of coins in the stupa has become again a victim of subjectivism of the discussion based on the style of the image. Its value in fixing the date has been rejected by Lohuizen de Leeuw :[64]

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> In our opinion a find of coins may be used as a criterion for a date only then, when it concerns a coin which apparently was lost by chance at a time when it was still current. Similar discoveries of coins can be used for calculations concerning the date of the stratum in which the coins are found, but it must be remembered that in India coins remained in circulation a very long time. When, however, a coin is found, which was apparently meant as a deposit, the situation is quite different. The only conclusion to be drawn in that case is that the reliquary cannot be older than the coin. That it is contemporary with the coins found near it, even if all of them are of one monarch and not very much worn down, would be, however, a premature conclusion. Besides, something special, something precious is given as a deposit and certainly *not* something common. The objection might be made, of course, that in those times coins were something precious, but undoubtedly even gold coins were not so valuable compared with the burden of the costs, which the pious layman had to bear for having the brilliant reliquary made, apart from the question, whether he had the stupa beautified as well, or even built. It is very improbable therefore, that a *current* copper coin, which must have had a rather small value for the donor, was given as a deposit. On the other hand—according to the deposits found—an old coin is considered to be very precious, not because of its value in metal, but for the remarkability of it age. This is proved by hoards consisting of coins of very different dates.

(This is followed by the examples of Ahin Posh Tope and that of the stupa at Lalchak) :[65]

> So to us it seems "a priori" incorrect to use a coin from a deposit as a basis for dating, as has been done up till now, and therefore, in our opinion, we can only say in this case that the reliquary of Bimaran has been made after Azes.

Not everyone has accepted Lohuizen de Leeuw's opinion[66] but some have,[67] and therefore it is necessary to examine her arguments. First of all, the very statement that it is" 'a priori' incorrect to use a coin from a deposit as a basis for dating" is either too simplistic or too strong to find acceptance by a numismatist or an archaeologist. Secondly, we are not here dealing with a hoard or accumulation or a treasure, or even stray coins left by chance, but with a sacred custom or ritual. Thirdly, even when it is true that coins do remain in circulation for a very long time. (not only in India but elsewhere too) they do show signs of it and are not found in mint condition. Fourthly, the scope of such statements as *terminus ante quem* and *terminus post quem* are more meaningfully valid when the composition of a hoard or a treasure consists of more than one or a larger number of kings and their coins than what we have in the present case. The examples of

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Ahin Posh and Lalchak given by Lohuizen are not comparable to Bimaran because more than one king are represented. Moreover, the coins of Azes in the Bimaran deposit are in mint condidion and do not show signs of circulation. There are only four coins and all belong to one king. Even if we insist on saying that it gives only the *terminus post quem* we would not be justified in making more than a decade's allowance for it. And let us not forget we are still operating in the realm of relative dates and not of absolute dates. I do not see how one can agree with the unnecessary strong statement of Lohuizen de Leeuw "that it is contemporary with the coins found near it, even if all of them are of one monarch and not very much worn down, would be, however, premature conclusion." In fact, she has missed the real significance of the ritual of depositing coins with the relics or in foundation pits. Such deposits are sacred acts where the intention of the performer is not to bury or hide a treasure but to earn merit for himself and his family and even for the king and to wish for the security of the monument. It is a symbolic act and usually one, or only a few coins, are deposited along with other token objects after a *bhumipuja* or comparable worship is performed. It is not a question of depositing something *precious* like gold coins as Lohuizen de Leeuw would like, but of depositing something *pure*; and in India copper is considered a pure metal and is associated with sacred rituals. And I may add that to this day when the foundation stone of a building is laid in India it is customary to put *current* coins in the pit among other things; the idea of documentation is after all not altogether absent! So, we cannot but date the Bimaran reliquary in the period of Azes II, who preceded Gondophernes, and whose reign most probably came to an end before the beginning of the Christian era.[68]

As I have mentioned I am not discussing styles and stones here and am reserving them for a longer study, but I cannot help pointing out that the Buddha of the Bimaran casket resembles so closely an example found at Butkara[69] that again underscores the importance of Swat valley or ancient Uḍḍiyāna.

The next example of the pre-standardisation period belongs to the reign of Kujula Kadphises. I refer to the well-known coin-type with a human figure seated cross-legged on one side and a standing deity on the other.[70] Some scholars think that the seated figure is on the obverse but if the corrupt Greek inscription of the other side is taken into consideration, then it should be on the reverse side. The seated figure is holding an object in the upraised right hand and the left hand is resting on the thigh. The posture is frontal and seems to convey a sense of spiritual dignity rather than royal attitude. There is also noticeable protuberance on the head possibly a form of *uṣṇīsa*. Whitehead and Rapson described the figure as that of the Buddha and so has Tarn and others.[71] This is a rare type and quite unusual for the Kushans, coming from Central Asia, to issue it without any reason. No doubt when Kujula occupied Kabul vailey and Gandhāra from the Pahlavas he followed the tradition of Maues and Azes of issuing a coin-type with the Buddha/ Bodhisattva. All the three, i.e. Maues, Azes and Kujula, use different models- they must have had their own artists—but the basic thing was to show the figure seated cross-legged in a *dhyāna* posture about which there could not be any

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controversy. It is interesting that while Coomaraswamy thought that the personages on these coins represent a king and not a Buddha, he also remarked that "the Kadapha type, however, apart from the object held in the hand, is exactly that of the early Mathura Buddhas and of figures of kings or perhaps Bodhisattvas, and of Buddha, at Amaravati. The characteristic and vigorous gesture of the palm or clenched fist resting on the thigh is rarely met with in later art, but survives, for example, in certain mediaeval Bodhisattva types.[72] It is relevant to note that Kujula Kadphises took the epithet of *Sacadhramathidasa* (steadfast in the True Dharma), on his coins which can only refer to his leanings to Buddhism. I think it is time that the seated Buddha/Bodhisattva on the coins of Kujula receive its due place in the history of Buddhist art.

That the practice of making life-like representation of the Buddha had come into vogue by the time of Kujula Kadphises is now confirmed by the discovery of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription.[73] This inscription, which is engraved on a gold plate, is dated in the regnal year 14 of Senavarma, king of Oḍi, and a vassal of Kujula. Oḍi is undoubtedly Uḍḍiyāna or Udyāna in Swat valley. The inscription refers to the deposition of relics of the Buddha in the Eka-Kūṭa stupa. The relevant lines at the end of the inscription which reads as : "*Ji'ase likhita ya sarira pra' ithavani'a Samghamitrena 'Ali'a-putrena 'anaka' ena karavita ya Sadi'ena Sacakaputrena meri' akhena ukede ya.....*," has been translated by H.W. Bailey as "and the Body-relics (*śarira-*) to be deposited were painted to the life by Samghamitra son of Ali'a the *anankaios* (royal kinsman), and were ordered by Sadi'a son of Sacaka the *meridarkhes* (district officer)....."[74] B.N. Mukherjee adds that "these were 'engraved' (*ukede*) can only mean that the casket destined to contain the supposed body-relics of the Lord Buddha was painted with one (or more than one) life-like (and not symbolic) representation of the Master, and that it was engraved (with figures and designs)."[75] If Mukherjee is right in extending the meaning of the text given Bailey, this would only confirm what was already happening in practice as we know from the Bimaran casket of the time of Azes II where the figure of the Buddha is shown on the side.

Thus already before Kaniṣka I the idea of Buddha/Bodhisattva image-making and worship had received approval from the Sarvāstivādins and patronage from Maues, Azes I, Azes II, and Kujula Kadphises. It is significant that the first tangible evidence of the implementation of the idea comes from the regions of Chilas and Swat. The cumulative knowledge arising out of such discoveries as those of the Gilgit manuscript, the northern route followed by the Sakas of Issyk kolin their journey to Chi pin, the numismatic evidence, the rock carvings on Karakorum highway, the sculptures of Butkara and the inscription of Senavarma seem to confirm the traditions recorded by the Chinese pilgrims about these and adjoining regions. In Fa-Hsien's account of Buddhist countries it is reported,[76]

> After crossing the Pamirs, they reached north India, and arrived at a small country on its borders called Darada. Here are also many monks, all of whom study Hinayana Buddhism.

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> In this country there was once an Arhat who, by the use of supernatural powers, sent a skilful sculptor up to the Tusita Heaven to observe the proportions and features of Maitreya Boddhisattva, so that on descending to earth he could carve an image of Maitreya in wood. The sculptor completed the image after three ascents to heaven to make observations. Eighty feet high and eight feet broad at the base, the statue often radiates light on fast days. The kings of many countries vie with each other in making offerings to it and it has remained in Darada to this day.

Fa-Hsien then crossed the dangerous "Hanging pass" and arrived in the country of Udyana and proceeded from there to the countries of Suvāstu, Gandhāra, Takṣaṣilā and Puruṣapura. He records the local tradition that the image of Maitreya was set up about three hundred years after the Buddha.[77]

Hsuan Tsang confirms the account of Fa-Hsien. His narrative of Ta-li-lo (Darel), which is apparently the same as Ta-lato (Darada) of Fa-Hsien, includes reference to the carved wooden image of Maitreya,[78]

> In the valley is a great monastery by the side of which is a carved wooden image of Tzu-ship P'usa (Maitreya Bodhisattva) of a brilliant golden hue and of miraculous powers; it is above 100 feet high; it was the work of the arhat Madhyāntika who by his supernatural power thrice bore the artist to Tushita Heaven to study Maitreya's beautiful characterstics...

It is true that this image of Maitreya has not survived. But that is not surprising because it was made of wood. What is important is that a tradition about making the image of a Bodhisattva in the region we are discussing was known to these eminent Chinese pilgrims and that both the tradition and the image survived at least until their times.[79]

This re-examination of the evidence in the light of recent discoveries no doubt brings Udyāna and Kashmir to forefront in any study of the first images of the Buddha and/or the Bodhisattva. It also indicates that the role of Sarvāstivāda ideology, related to Hinayāna, was more important than that of Mahāyāna[80] in birth of the image. It experiments had already been made some generations before the time of Kaniṣka who finally put his seal of authority on the iconographic definition of the Buddha, Sakyamuni Buddha as well as of Maitreya Buddha.[81] Chilas and Swat regions, i.e. the ancient Kashmir and Udyāna, have better claims Mathura and Gandhāra for the birthplace of the Buddha/Bodhisattva images.[82] It was not a Greek sculptor but most likely a local craftsman[83] under the guidance of Buddhist monks who produced the first examples. By the time of Kaniṣka the geography of ideology and iconography of the Buddha image included Gandhāra and Kapisa in the south and west, and Mathura in the east.

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NOTES

1. In the title and all through this paper I have juxtaposed the expressions "the Buddha" and "the Bodhisattva" because of the vagueness about the exact identity of their first images.
2. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Dīghanikāya*, 3 volumes, edited by Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, (Nalanda-Devanagari Pali Series), Nalanda, 1958. vol. II, pp. 58-128.
3. For various traditions in regard to these personages see : *On Yuan Chwang Travels in India*, translated by Thomas Watters, London, 1904. pp. 268 ff and p. 384; *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, translated by H.A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 30-31; *Ekottaragama* quoted by A. Waley. *Melanges Chinois et Boudhiques*, vol. I, 1932, pp. 352-4; Loden S. Dagyab, *Tibetan Religious Art*, pt. 1, Wiesbaden 1977, p. 22; *Taranath's History of Buddhism in India*, translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Simla, 1970. pp. (?); Mahavamsa, edited by Wilhelm Geiger (Pali Text Society), London, 1958, p. 37.; Alexander C. Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes toward the Art of Painting", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. XXXII, 1950, pp. 147; Niti Adval, *The Story of King Udayana*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 210; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 94.
4. Rock Edict IV. See *Aśokan Inscriptions* edited and translated by R.G. Basak. Calcutta, 1959, pp. 129-32. Also, Romila Thapar, *Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 251.
5. Romila Thapar, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 38, 160.
6. A.K. Narain, *The Coin-types of the Indo-Greek Kings*, Chicago, 1968, p. 15.
7. J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, University of Calcutta, 1956, *passim* in Chapters II and III but see pp. 75-77.
8. It is significant to note that over 40% of the elite monks and nuns listed in *Theragāthā and Therīgāthā* belonged to the Brahmana caste, 29% to the Gahapati or Vaiśya, and 22% to the Ksatriya varna, see B.G. Gokhale "The Early Buddhist Elite", *Journal of Indian History*, 1965, vol. XLIII, pt. II, pp. 391-402.
9. *Paninī*, IV. 3.98.
10. *Kautilīya Arthaśastra*, edited by R.P. Kangle, Bombay, (Part I, Text, 1969, part II, English Translation, 1972, Part III, A Study, 1965), 2.4.17, 19.
11. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 201.
12. William H. McNeill, *A World History*, 2nd. edn., Oxford University Press, 1971, chapters 3-5.
13. The Theravādins were able to retain the human conception of the Buddha even two centuries or more after his actual existence. The Buddha for them was a "Teacher", a "hero", a "conqueror", a "saint." He was a "Chakkavatti." The rules for the funeral rites of a Buddha were similar to those for a holy universal king who was dignified by the construction of a stupa over their ashes.
14. See generally Romila Thapar, *op. cit.*, chapters 4 and 5, particularly role of the Dhammamahāmatras.
15. A.K. Narain, "*Religious Policy and Toleration in Ancient India with particular reference to the Gupta Age*", in Bardwell L. Smith (editor), *Essays on Gupta Culture*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. (?).
16. P. Bernard, *Academic des Inscriptiones & Belles-Letters, Compte Rendus des*

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Seances de l'annee, Paris, 1971, pp. 435-37, 441-43. A.K. Narain, "The Two Hindu Divinities on the coins of Agathocles from Ai-Khanoum", *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XXXV, 1973, pp. 73-77.

17. A.K. Narain, "Iconographic Origins of Ganeśa and the evidence of the Indo-Greek Coinage", (to be published in *Tucci Commemoration volume*) also, "On the Earliest Ganeśa" in *Senarat Paranvitana Commemoration Volume*, ed. by L. Prematilleke, K. Indrapala and J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, Leiden, 1978, pp. 162-66.
18. R.G. Bhandarkar noted that "there is, therefore, no need to suppose that the White island was a Christian country peopled by white races", *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Poona, 1928, p. 45. After the discovery of the Ai-Khanoum coins of Agathocles showing Vāsudeva and Saṃkarṣaṇa and the rock carvings depicting their figures with labelled inscriptions in Chilas the lure of Afghanistan and adjoining regions is becoming increasingly rewarding for our discussion. We need not worry about references to 'Christian' and 'white races' in the remarks made by Bhandarkar; they are out of place now. In any case, neither the Greeks nor the Sakas were Christians.
19. Coedes, *Bulletin de l'Ecole francasie d'Extreme Orient*, XXV, 1925, p. 112, XX, 1931, p. 448.
20. A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, reprint edn.. 1980, chapter V.
21. A.K. Narain, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI.
22. Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Human Records on Karakorum Highway*, Islamabad, 1983. Also, *Chilas, the City of Nanga Parvat* (*Dyamar*), Islamabad, 1983.
23. D. Facenna and G. Gulini, *Reports on the Campaigns 1956-62*, Rome 1962: D. Facenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. II, pt. 2 and II. 3, Rome 1962 & 1964; D. Facenna, *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat* (Pakistan) 1956-62, Rome, 1964.
24. A.K. Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.
25. D. Facenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*,
    A.H. Dani, *Chilas* . . . .
    Lohuizen de Leeuw, "New Evidence with regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image" in *South Asian Archaeology-1979*, ed. by H. Hartel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 377-400, wherein she points out that the Butkara Buddhas are more closely related to Mathura than to Gandhāra types.
26. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-128. See p. 96 for the inscription referring to Maues.
27. *Ibid*, p. 103.
28. *Ibid*, p. 106.
29. N. Dutt, *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hīnayāna*, London, 1930, pp. 23 ff., also *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta, 1970.
30. T.W. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*,
31. See their travel reports. Also,
32. N. Dutt, *Buddhist Sects in India*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 134 ff. E.J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*.
33. J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period, Leiden, 1949, pp. 145 ff.*
34. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image", *The Art Bulletin*, vol. IX, No. 4, 1927, pp. 287-328, esp. pp. 304 ff.

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35. Percy Gardner, *Catalogue of coins in the British Museum, The Greek and the Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, reprint edn., Chicago, 1967, p. 17 and Pl. XVII. 5.; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, *The Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914, reprint, Delhi, 1971, p. 102, Pl. X, 31; V.A. Smith, "Numismatic Notes and Novelties II", *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. 66, pt. I, 1979, pp. 298-309; esp. p. 300; also his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, p. 40; Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
36. See for example Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, fig. 6.
37. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1914*, p. 793.
38. *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the Guptas*, London, 1926, pp. 50-51.
39. W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1951, pp. 401-402.
40. *Ibid.*. p. 307.
41. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98, 169.
42. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
43. Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98, esp. fn. 81.
45. See for example, Lohuizen de Leeuw's article "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image" in *South Asian Archaeology-1979*, edited by H. Hartel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 377-400; she does not even refer to the Maues coins. In fact, it could have been relevant to consider the evidence of these coins in view of Butkara material which Lohuizen de Leeuw has discussed with profit.
46. J. H. Marshall, *Taxila, An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations* (in 3 vols.), Cambridge, 1951, vol. I., p. 79-80. In an appendix to Chapter I Marshall examines only Tarn's arguments about this coin. He does not refer to other writers and does not go into the whole question. His statement in regard to the figure in question that it "has usually been interpreted by numismatists as that of the king himself seated, cross-legged on cushion and holding a sword or mace on his knees" is not wholly true because some numismatists and others have not described the figure as above. His references to the coins of Antimachus II and Antialcidas for comparison are irrelevant in my opinion. I have discussed the coin of Azes later.
47. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, University of California and Los Angeles, 1967, p. 125.
48. Joe Cribb, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. III, pt. 2, 19(?), pp. 79-88: also, "The Origin of the Buddha Image—the Numismatic evidence" in *South Asian Archaeology* 1981, edited by Bridget Allchin, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 231-244.
49. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 323.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
51. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 408.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
53. A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.
54. The evidence of the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription among others is sufficient to show the Saka patronage of the Sarvāstivādins. See for the text of the inscription; Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I:

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Kharoshthi Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1929, pp. 30-49.

55. Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*
56. The gold coin-type has the legend Bo, o, Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. (?) pl. ( ); the copper types give the legends as *Sākyamuni Boydo* and *Metrago Boydo*, see Joe Cribb, *op. cit.*, p. (?)
57. This time gap is calculated on the basis of Maues' date being *circa* 100-75 B.C. (A. K. Narain, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-47) and that of Kaniṣka I during the first half of the second century A.D. (A. K. Narain, "The Date of Kaniska," and "A Post-script on the Date of Kaniska," in *papers on the Date of Kaniska* edited by A. L. Basham, Leiden, 1968, pp. 206 ff and 204ff.
58. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 164.
59. Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. XIX. 1.
60. Tarn *op. clt.*, p. 401.
61. Examples of numismatic conservatism and imitation of types are too many to enumerate. In the broad period of time we are discussing one may note, for examples, Maues copying Demetrius (Gardner, *op. cit.*,) Kujula imitating Roman types and that of Hermaens (Gardner, *op. cit.*)
62. W. W. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841, p. 72; Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, p. 83-94; K. W. Dobbins, "Two Gandharan Reliquaries," *East and West*, vol. 18, 196(?), pp. 151-62.
63. Joe Cribb, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
64. Lohuizen de Leeuw, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-89.
65. Hoernle, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1978, pp. 122-38; Codrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-(?)
66. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian sculpture*, vol. I., Paris, 1929, p. 72. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 52; R. LeMay, "The Bimaran Casket," *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 82, Londnon, 1943, pp. 116-23.
67. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. (?); K. W. Dobbins, *op. cit.*, pp. (?).
78. After Jenkins' classification of coins of Azes I and Azes II [see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. (?) 126, pp. (?)] the Bimaran coins may be attributed to Azes II, who probably ruled from *c.* 30 B. C., or later. His rule certainly came to an end before the beginning of the Christian era.
69. Compare with Pl. in D. Facenna.
70. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*: *The Indo-Greeks Coins*, vol. I, p.———pl.
71. *Ibid.*, p.——, J. Rapson, John Marshall.
72. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 302.
73. H. W. Bailey, "A Kharostri Inscription of Senavarma, King of Odi," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*,
74. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
75. *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, vol. 6, Rajshahi, pp, 11-14.
76. *A Record of the Buddhist Countries* by Fa-Hesien, translated by the San Shih Buddhist Institute, Peking, 1957, pp. 22-23.
77. If we accept 483 B.C. as the date of the *parinirvāna* of the Buddha the traditional date for the Maitreya image is not far removed from the time of the earliest appearance of the Sakas in the region.
78. *On Yuan Cwang's Travels in India*, by Thomas Watters, London, 1904, p. 239.

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79. Compared to other traditions mentioned earlier in the paper, the accounts of Fa-Hsien and Hsuan Tsang seem more trustworthy to me.
80. I propose to discuss that issue in detail elsewhere. There is a lot of mix-up in the transitional phase between Hīnāyana and Māhāyāna. Expressions like "Proto-Mahāyāna" and "early Mahāyāna" haxe produced more confusion than solution. We do not know how the earliest schools of Mahāyāna began. The facile assumption that the Bodhisattva ideal is Mahāyānic and not Hīnayānic also needs careful examination.
81. On the gold coins of Kaniṣka the legend reads BODDO but on the copper coins we find inscriptions which refer to Sakyamuni Buddha and Maitreya Buddha.
82. Some scholars have included Udyana in Gandhāra but this is without any justification.
83. The expression "local craftmen" does not necessarily exclude the Indians of Iranian, Greek or any mixed origins. It is only meant to exclude newly arrived and hired artists from the west.

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2

THE ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE : EARLY IMAGE TRADITIONS AND THE CONCEPT OF BUDDHADAR ŚANAPUNYĀ

JOHN C. HUNTINGTON

Like so many problems, the question of the Buddha image does not seem to have as simple a solution as was originally believed by past investigators. At present, it is generally accepted by historians of art that Coomaraswamy was correct, or at least very near the truth, when he found the *yakṣa* convention of the second century of the pre-Christian era as the basic formal prototype for the Mathurā Buddha image convention.[1] Subsequently, in her *The "Scythian" Period*, J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw expressed the opinion that while she believed that Coomaraswamy was essentially correct, she preferred to see the prototype called a "king type" even though she did not feel that this distinction differed greatly from the view of Coomaraswamy.[2] For most, this was tantamount to the final resolution of the great debate between Foucher, who with his followers had postulated the "origin" of the image of the Buddha in the Indo:Iranian interface regions of Gandhāra and Bactria,[3] and Coomaraswamy and his followers who postulated an Indian "origin" in the Mathurā region.[4] However, since the very beginning of the debate, there has remained a nagging question. All the images that survive from the early periods are in stone, which only came into the most sparing use in the third century B.C. in India and did not become a sculptural major medium until the Kuṣāṇa era. What, if anything, came before ?

Typical of the kind of comment ventured, van Lohuizen de Leeuw, while speaking of Kaṭrā Buddha, states, "It is clear [from the technical resolution of the image convention] that images like that of Kaṭrā are preceded by a whole line of development."[5] She continues to say that she does not necessarily mean that the earlier works were Buddha images *per se* but follows up by pointing out three obviously pre-Kaṭrā Buddha images from the Mathurā school.[6] The problem is clear: something must have existed prior to the stone images, but what ?

In contrast to the acceptance that the art historical community has given the arguments of an "aniconic period" as postulated by Foucher and the stylistic arguments of Coomaraswamy, van Lohuizen de Leeuw and others, the Buddhological community has not been so easily convinced. In a 1974 article, Lewis,

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R. Lancaster Suggested that the whole approach of the art historian has been incorrect in that the art historian has usually found the origin of the Buddha image to be tied into the popular "deification" of the Buddha or to the development of the *trikāya* concept of the Buddha's being.[7] He bases his comments on a narrative in an early recension of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* in which there is a passing remark about men who made images of the Buddha shortly after the *Nirvāṇa* in order to gain merit.[8] Padmanabh S. Jaini has also critized the art historical community for not being more thorough in examining the textual evidence and for not giving "more credence to the accounts of the Chinese travellers [regarding early images]."[9]

Coupled with this criticism of what must be called shortsightedness on the part of the art historical community the discovery of early images in China[10] provided irrefutable evidence for early images. The earliest of these (Figures 1 and 2) is on a small ceramic jar dated to the equivalent of B.C. ("third year of Chien Chao" [under the Former Han].[11] The unmistakable image of a Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* and seated in a flame-like aura adorns one side of the vessel (Figure 1). The implications of this figure and the other early Chinese images are very obvious : China clearly did not invent the image type and there are no precedents for the convention anywhere in early Han or pre-Han art. This raises the point that images must have been part of the teaching modalities of the earliest proselytizers of Buddhism in China. Obviously, they did not invent the image for Chinese consumption and have it return from China to India as it has been shown that images survive even in the Indic sphere from an equally early date.[12] Moreover, the image type, with the display of the *bhūmisparśamudrā* would seem to be a secondary convention that developed after the "four postures" (cf. infra.). The suggestion that the image provides is clear, that images were an established tradition by the middle of the first century B.C., that there had been a period of development (presumably in the Indic sphere) prior to that time, and that conventions still in use today were already current by that time. It is apparent from these data and the implications drawn from them that one must search elsewhere than among surviving images for the true tradition of the "first" images of the Buddha.

Following these leads and suggestions, it is the purpose of this study to reexamine the evidence, both literary and archaeological, to determine if the earlier visions of the Buddha image and the postulated "Aniconic Phase" (that is said to have preceded the point in time in which the "first" Buddha images were created) have any validity, and, if they do not, to attempt to determine a more accurate history of the image development.[13] Simply stated, it will be the conclusion of this study that there is considerable corroborating literary and archaeological evidence for a tradition of early images, made in an effort to gain merit by viewing the Buddha (*Buddhadarśanapunya*). The phenomenon seems to have been unquestioned and to have been a completely natural and spontaneous reaction to the situation of allowing persons who had not been able to gain merit by seeing the Buddha in person either while he was absent during his lifetime or, because of his

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death and cremation, after his lifetime, to do so by seeing an image of him. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the evidence regarding early images and to evaluate the place of fabrication of some of the first *surviving* images of the Buddha.

Ultimately, the results of this study take direct issue with the whole concept of the "pre-iconic" phase of Buddhism. If such a phase existed, it was extremely short, limited to specific sectarian movements, and without real relevance from either the art historical or doctrinal point of view for the majority of Buddhists.

TEXTS THAT HAVE BEEN CITED TO DENY THE PRODUCTION OF AN IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA

Initially, it is necessary to examine those citations from the Buddhist canonical literature that have been given by others as giving scriptural validity to the prohibition against making of an image of the Buddha.

Foucher, citing the *Mahāparinibhāna suttana*,[14] finds the passage

> "The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you."[15]

and a passage in the *Milindapañhā* as prohibiting the making of Buddha images.

> The king said : 'Is there such a such a person as the Buddha, Nāgasena ?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'Can he then, Nāgasena, be pointed out as being here or there ?'
>
> 'The Blessed One, O king, has passed away by that kind of passing away in which nothing remains which could tend to the formation of another individual (*anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā*). It is not possible to point out the Blessed One as being here or there.'[16]

The first passage is obviously about the continuation of the order and the succession of the teachings, while the second passage is about the cessation of life. Given the context of a religious system that makes an *a priori* assumption that any given living being will be reincarnated (*punarbhāva*)infinitely, it is a necessary and much developed topic. Since the Buddha was in the state of *Nirvāṇa*, there would never be another Buddha-being of that particular individual who was Gautama Śākyamuni. The problem of images is simply not germane to either passage, except through Foucher's somewhat contorted extrapolation which he assumes that "the gravest members of the order" must have made. It must be argued that such an assumption is unwarranted. The evidence of the several *vinayas* is that the rules of the order were spelled out in very explicit detail, leaving little room for the "gravest members of the order" to make such extrapolations. If images of the Buddha had been an issue of any importance at the period of the formation of the *vinaya* texts, and as we shall see, for one sect it was, there is little doubt that it would have been included in the regulations.

Gangoly, arguing vehemently against any possible icon in the early periods of

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the Buddhist religion has cited a number of seemingly meaningful quotations from the Pāli canon as precluding art of any form and *especially* the image of the Buddha. Unfortunately, his method is to cite passages out of context and to construct a different and totally artificial meaning for them. In order to expose his fraudlent method, two of his citations shall be examined.

He cites[17] the *Cullavagga*, VI.3.2 as forbidding "the Brethren to permit the monastery walls to be adorned with figures of men and women." The text has the adjective *paṭibhānacitta*, which I.B. Horner has translated as "bold design."[18] Evidently, Horner read *citta* as implying "bright" or "gaily coloured,"[19] and *paṭibhāna* in the sense of "confident," "bold,"[20] "witty," and so on. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, in their translation of the *Cullavagga*[21] tell of uncertainty about the term, *paṭibhānacitta*, but point out that in one occurrence it means "indecent" and suggest that in the context of this passage, "suggestive" would probably be the best translation. A similar passage in the *vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins prohibiting the depiction of "figures of men and women coupling"[22] reinforces the Rhys Davids/Oldenberg interpretation. Further, a simple examination of the broad context of Gangoly's passage leaves no doubt as to the intent of the citation. The text compares the monks who have the designs in questions to "householders who enjoy pleasures and the senses." The same theme of anti-luxury occurs in several places in the *Cullavagga* and in some cases an item is allowed the monks but it must not be too lavish. For example, in V. 11.1, a knife is allowed the monks but its handle must not be of gold or silver "like householders who enjoy pleasures of the senses" but a monk may own a knife with a handle of bone, ivory, horn, reed, bamboo, sticks, lac, crystal, copper, or the inside of a conch shell !

Further, the passage immediately preceding VI.3.2 regarding the "bold designs" describes in some detail the sleeping places in which the Buddha allows the use of whitewash, red coloring and black coloring on the walls. No design is mentioned but it is certainly possible that traditional Indian painting techniques, using a white ground with red underdrawing, figures in red and outlined in black *could* be made within the limitation given. At best, Gangoly's reading is a very forced interpretation of the meaning of the passage aimed to further his thesis that there could not possibly have been early images of the Buddha.

In another reasonable sounding citation, he gives the *Celokhila* (sic.) *sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* as stating that the visible forms are one of the bondages of the human mind and finds that this is a reason for not producing images.[23] Yet I.B. Horner's translation of the passage[24] gives the bondages as sense pleasures (*kama*) the body (*kāya*), material shapes (*rū*), luxury (*artha*). future rebirth in the state of a *deva* (*devata*) and it deals with them in a most general and typical way—the monk is to root them out by cultivating the four bases of psychic power : ardour, continual application, perseverance and striving, hardly the specific prohibition against the visual images that Gangoly would have his readers believe. Such themes are found throughout Buddhist literature of all periods and without a much more specific reference to images; one would have to state that Gangoly's assumption that this brief passage precludes the making of images of the Buddha

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only reflects an attempt to make his "aniconic" thesis more plausible. His other citations are equally distorted, as anyone who wishes to check them against the originals may easily find.

In all Buddhist literature, scholars have only been able to locate one reference to a specific, albeit indirect, prohibition against making images of the Buddha. This occurs in the *vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins.[25] In a chapter dealing with the decoration of monasteries, the Buddha is asked by Anāthapiṇḍaka, "World-honoured one, if images of yours are not allowed to be made, pray may we not at least make images of Bodhisattvas in attendance upon you ?" The Buddha then grants permission to the request.[26] Although the text was not translated into Chinese until A.D. 404, Waley suggests that this passage must reflect an early layer, at least of the first century A.D. Given the fact that the images identified by van Lohuizen de Leeuw as having been made prior to the Kaṭrā Buddha[27] have to date from the first century A.D. or before and that the Mathurā region in which they were found was known as the main centre of the Sarvāstivādins;[28] then it can only be that the inference of the prohibition stems from an even earlier date. Yet the reference to *Bodhisattvas*[29] which troubles Waley,[30] would seem to indicate that some sort of iconic representations were already allowed, perhaps in the third to second centuries B.C. However, as Waley points out, the very existence of a prohibition means simply that someone (else) was making images[31] but that the Sarvāstivādins were (at that time) opposed to it.

In discussing the same passage, Lamotte points out that the *vinaya* of the Mahāsāṃghika and that of the Dharmaguptaka sects specifically allows the decoration of *stūpas* and monasteries with paintings of *devas*, monks, dragons, animals and landscapes, but both are silent on the subject of an image of the Buddha.[32] This absence from these *vinayas* may be seen in any of at least three ways : first, that the representation of the Buddha was so commonplace that there was no need to discuss it; second, that it just was not done and that there was no need to mention it; or third, that images of the Buddha were indeed made but that they would not have been mentioned as "decoration" since they were not appropriate to the decorative context but were cult or commemorative images of great sanctity. A variation on this last theme exists in that the making of images may have been outside the concern of the doctrinal religion, and that images were essentially a manifestation of a popular cult. The prohibition against the making of images itself suggests that one of the variations of the third possibility was in fact the case. If the images were not being made, then there would be no need to proscribe them and the general lack of attention that the making of images receives in the early literature can only mean that it was a generally accepted practice. Thus, the passages on "decoration" are just that—passages explaining that visual enrichment of was permitted. In view of the general tone of austerity apparent in the literature, thus permission would be particularly necessary. It follows then, that the Sarvāstivādin statement should be taken at face value as well : at the time the statement was formulated, the Sarvāstivādin sect did not allow images of the Buddha. However, because of their interdiction, it must be argued that other

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movements had to allow images or that images had to have been well established among the laity.

Certainly by the Kuṣāṇa era the Sarvāstivādins had abandoned the prohibition. Specific dedications of images and reliquaries with images on them are made for the Sarvāstivādins by that time. For example, the Shāh-jī-kī-ḍheri casket inscription has been read by B.N. Mukherjee : "In the acceptance (i.e. for the acceptance) of the Sarvāstivādin teachers, this perfume box is the meritorious gift of Mahārāja Kaniskha in the city of Kanishkapura. May (it) be for the welfare and happiness of all beings. . . . *sa*, the superintendent of construction of the refectory in Kanishka's *vihāra*, in Mahāsena's saṁghārāma."[33] Mukherjee's reading of the first line "*acharyana(ṇa) sarvastivadina pratigrahe*"[34] makes it very clear that the acceptance of gifts (*pratigraha*)[35] is by the Sarvāstivādin teachers. As is well known the casket has four images of the Buddha, one on top attended by Indra and Brahma and three above the garland encircling the lower portion of the casket body. The possible fourth position of a Buddha on the lower portion is assumed by a rude portrait of the emperor Kaniṣka (I) who, attended by Kuṣāṇa deities, assists the garland bearers in supporting their load. Certainly, Kaniṣka, as a convert to Buddhism, would have made every attempt to have a doctrinally appropriate casket made to contain the relics. Accordingly, we must assume that by the time of the reign of Kaniṣka, the Sarvāstivādins, at the highest level, had either forgotton about or had come to ignore the interdiction against the portrayal of the image of the Buddha. One may also insist that such changes did not happen overnight. If, by the time of Kaniṣka, it was appropriate to portray the Buddha on what has to be assumed to be one of the most sacred locations available, on a casket presumably containing relics of the Buddha, then there had to have been a substantial period of development prior to such usage. As has been noted above, there were stone images of the Buddha at Mathurā from about the turn of the Christian era, and thus, relaxation of the interdiction must date from that time or before.

There is one other aspect to the statement in the Sarvāstivādin *vinaya* that is important and that is its casualness. As noted above, it is an indirect reference to the interdiction, and actually occurs in the context of a request to portray the *Boddhisattvas* attending the Buddha. Thus, nowhere in the literature is there a specific "*thou Shalt not...*"—it just does not seem to exist. Perhaps any such statement was removed in the compilation of the Sarvāstivādin *vinaya* since it was so obviously out of keeping with the actual practice. Yet, it is these casual references to images of the Buddha that will, in part, form the basis of the conclusions reached in this study.

It is also obvious from this statement that the cult of *Boddhisattvas* as attendants to the Buddha must have come into being while the Sarvāstivādin interdiction was still in effect. If, according to J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw's reasoning about the Kaṭrā Buddha image, that there must have been a long formative stage in its development,[36] the same must be true for images of the *Boddhisattvas*. *Boddhisattva* type figures do not occur, nor does any parallel figure convention

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occur, in the Jain sculpture of Mathurā; thus it must be argued that the whole development of the *Bodhisattva* (essentially as *rājkumar*) type of image was within the Buddhist context. Further, of the related images to the Kaṭrā type, one, from Ahicchattra, clearly depicts the *Bodhisattvas* Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi. Thus, it may be argued that the *karuṇā* (Padmapāṇi) and *prajñā* (Vajrapāṇi) concepts also emerge out of the mists of the period of wooden (or "pre-stone") sculpture. Since the interdiction against Buddha images was still in effect at the time permission was assumed to allow images to be made of *Bodhisattvas*, the date of the desire to make images of *Bodhisattvas* must fall some time between around 300 B.C. and 100 B.C.

Given the rather vehement and tempestuous tradition of controversy among varying groups in the *saṅgha*, it would seem that any great controversy over making images of the Buddha would have been recorded. Indeed, one might expect that such an issue would strike at the very core of devotional concepts and that it might have generated lengthy expositions of why, versus why not, make images. The fact that such expositions do not exist very probably indicates that image making was a foregone conclusion by all. It is my opinion that the Sarvāstivādin prohibition must be seen as an aside from the main stream of Buddhist concern about images of the Buddha.

There are a few other references to paintings in *vinaya* texts that limit monks or nuns from viewing "picture galleries" (*subhūti*) of either palaces or non-Buddhist religious buildings, but as these clearly do not refer to the Buddha or images of the Buddha, they have been excluded from this discussion.[37]

EARLY TEXTS ON THE MAKING OF BUDDHA IMAGES

Korean Buddhist Canon number 281,[38] *Tso fo hsiang hsiang ching*, (*Tathāgata-praṭibimbapratiṣṭhānuśaṁsāsūtra*), "Buddha spoken Buddha-image making *sūtra*," is one of a number of Chinese translations of a detailed account of the measurements and proportions of Buddha images. These translations are all more or less closely related and in quite close agreement on the proportions, Yet this particular text was translated in the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) and demonstrates that even at this relatively early date, the convention of the Buddha image had become canonical in the from of a *sūtra*. There are several implications to this. To be translated into Chinese, a text had to be important enough in either the Indo-Iranian region or in India proper to have been carried all the way to China and to warrant the time taken to make the translation. This presupposes some period of acceptance in Indian Buddhist circles. That a *sūtra* was formulated to explain certain concepts presupposes that those concepts were themselves broadly accepted within at least one of the major movements of Buddhism and that it had been in practice for a sufficiently long time to become the object of a *sūtra*. Thus, it must be argued that the existence of such texts in the first or second centuries of the modern era, absolutely demand a relatively long standing tradition of images and image making.

In support of this, it can be shown, at least in the Mathurā school of sculpture,

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that there is evidence for early strict iconic formulations. J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw has demostrated that the "Bala type" of image had at least one precedent in a stone image of the Mathurā school.[39] More importantly, there are a considerable number of images in this style convention, all really quite close to each other in most details.[40] By the time the convention emerged in stone, perhaps around A.D. 50, it was already a closed iconomorphic system with very little deviation acceptable in the form of the main figure. The only real variation in any of the images is the object placed between the legs of the figure. In at least one case, this is a lotus with a supporting figure to either side while in another it is a lion. These elements have yet to be comparatively analyzed but, in my opinion, a detailed study of them will probably reveal advanced iconological concepts in place by the first and second century. Given the stability of the figure and garment convention, and, as Coomaraswamy has already pointed out, its formal closeness to the Śuṅga *yakṣa* convention,[41] one can argue that the "Bala type" of the Buddha image had to have been formulated some time around 100 B.C. or earlier.

Since these images are generally associated with the Sarvāstivādins, this places the end of the Sarvāstivādins prohibition on images of the Buddha at a fairly early date, *c.* 100 B.C. More importantly, the uniformity of the Bala type imge demonstrates the existence of early strict conventions for the representation of the Buddha. Further, since the Sarvāstivādins initially proscribed images of the Buddha, it must be assumed that it was their response to other ongoing traditions of making Buddha images during this period and that at the time of the Sarvāsti vādin "invention" of the Buddha image, there were other established image conventions. Thus, while the only known date associated with the text is the Later Han period, it can be seen that the concept of iconometrically controlled images is of greater antiquity in India.

The drapery convention of the "Bala type" image is out of the mainstream of early Buddha figure conventions. However, in spite of stylistic differences, other early regional image traditions of the Buddha all bear a certain basic resemblance : the Buddha is depicted as a figure either standing or sitting wearing a loosely draped robe which either covers both shoulders or leaves the right shoulder bare (one isolated group of early images in Swat has a nude upper torso). Because of this apparent iconomorphic uniformity, a "common" prototype may be suggested for the majority of other coventions as we know them. This is not to say that the Amarāvatī style images are stylistically the same as early Gandhāra images and so on, but simply that these are localized variations on a common theme. Unfortunately, the texts such as the K.B.C. 281, noted above, are not precise enough in their descriptions to give a clear impression of the actual appearance of an image. National and regional identities are easily discernible even in the most carefully iconometrically determined sculpture or painting. Yet, because of the apparent "common" prototype for all other styles, it is possible that it was the very convention against which the Sarvāstivādins first postulated the interdiction and finally presented their own interpretation.

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In his note on the Buddha's image, Waley also cites the *vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins as stating that when "Anāthapiṇḍaka asks if it is permissible to make images of the Buddha's earthly semblance," he is told that there is no objection.[42] This text was translated in A.D. 170 and is further strong evidence of an early tradition of images. Just what the relationship of the "Original" (*Mūla*) Sarvāstivādins is to the Sarvāstivādins is not altogether clear; however, the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins were based in Kaśmīr and the north-west while the Sarvāstivādins were centred in the Mathurā region. However, applying the same arguments for a developmental process to this statement of permission, in the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin *vinaya*, it may be argued that it too suggests an early tradition.

SOURCES REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF THE IMAGE OF THE BUDDHA IN THE LIFETIME OF THE BUDDHA AND AN EARLY BUDDHA IMAGE

Perhaps the best known and yet the most easily dispensed with narrative of the "Origin of the Buddha image" is the tale of the image said to have been ordered to be made by king Udayana of Kauśāmbī. It occurs in its fullest form in Hsuan Tsang's *Records of the Western World*.[43]

> In the city, within an old palace, there is a large *vihāra* about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood, about which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king U-to-yen-na (Udayana). By its spiritual qualities (*or*, between its spiritual marks) it produces a divine light, which from time to time shines forth. The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it, and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures.
>
> When the Tathāgata first arrived at complete enlightement, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother, and for three months remained absent. This king (i.e. Udāyana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore, he asked Mudgalyāyanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandal-wood statue. When Tathāgata returned from the heavenly palace, the carved figure of sandal-wood rose and saluted the Lord of the World.

There are several versions of this story, one in the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Ekottarāgama* which Waley has noted in which "Udayana makes an image of sandal-wood five feet high and Prasenajit follows suit with a golden image."[44] A version in Tibetan repeats much of the Hsuan Tsang version except that the image is depicted in a standing position and that a dazzling "sun-stone" was placed in front of the *uṣṇiṣa*.[45]

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In spite of the pan-Asian popularityy of both the image type and the narrative, Udayana's "true" image concerns this study only slightly. Since Przyluski's study of the *Aśokavadāna* has made it clear that the rise of Kauśāmbī occurred later than the first council and that the insertion of emphasis on Kauśāmbī in the Pāli canon probably took place well after Aśoka's lifetime,[46] we may dismiss the Udayana image as the "the" original. In fact, in Niti Adaval's study of King Udayana, a thorough analysis of the Buddhist references to Udayana gives no cause to believe that any of them are contemporary to the time of Udayana himself and he concludes that there is little reason to believe that the king was anything other than disinterested in, if indeed he knew of Buddhism at all.[47] The story does, however, play a minor role in our study, as it supports the tradition that there were early images, possible even one dating from or thought to date from the time of the Buddha. It is also very likely that the image was not an invention out of thin air but that it was a copy of, or closely resembled, an accepted image convention.[48]

As a brief aside, elements of the narrative fall into critical categories which by their very existence suggest that there is reason to question the validity of a literal interpretation of the narrative. It has been generally shown that the legends of the Buddha that deal with individuals who are known to have lived at the time of the Buddha and with places that are easily within the sphere of the Buddha's activities are often the least embellished with "magical" events. The more "down to earth", the fewer beings involved, the more logical the time sequence and the fewer *devas* and the like usually points to early layers of narratives.[49] While these criteria are very useful, they are by no means hard and fast. For example, Ānanda who became the voice of the Buddha's *sūtra* throughout Buddhism, is often presented in the role of reciting and enunciating later texts. However, other criteria can usually give a general indication of the chronological direction. Conversely, the presence of certain gods, especially Indra and Brahmā who were well established by the time of the Buddha, and at which time it seems to have been widely accepted that only individuals of enlightened insight could see them, are often said to attend events that otherwise meet all the criteria. This is completely appropriate in a culture which defines its place in the universe as only one of innumerable realms, existing simultaneously and in parallel. Accordingly, a modest number of animistic embodiments (i.e. *yakṣas*, *kiṇnaras*, *gandharvas rākṣasas*, etc.) and deities of the verious paradisal realms (*devas*) appear in early literature. However, when they appear as participants in the production of material objects and the images rather than just listeners or attendants to the Buddha, such as in the production of an "original" image, this may reflect a secondary layer of literature in which divine "primacy" is being used to justify a claim over a pre-extant rival.

It is by no means certain when the first "Udayana image" came into existence but it is propable that, with the deliberate emphasis on Kauśāmī being integrated into the literature some time in the third and second centuries B.C., the need to establish the primacy of Kauśāmbī extended to the story of the image. Indeed, since it is highly doubtful that Udāyana had anything to do with Buddhism at all, one may argue that this account was a response to another similar and pre-extant

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narrative. Further, the fact that the image is said to have been carved directly from the Buddha by a sculptor magically transported to Trayastriṁśa seems to be a response to another story of an image said to have been made during the Buddha's lifetime, that of King Prasenajit at Śrāvastī. Fa-Hsien gives the earliest known narrative of it.[50]

> When the Buddha went up to heaven for ninety days to preach the Faith to his mother, king Prasenajit, longing to see him, caused to be carved in sandal-wood from the Bull's head mountain an image of Buddha and placed it where Buddha usually sat. Later on, when Buddha returned to the shrine, the image straightway quitted the seat and came forth to receive him. Buddha cried out, 'Return to your seat: after my disappearance you shall be the model for the four classes of those in search of spiritual truth.' At this, the image went back to the seat. It was the very first of all such images, and is that which later ages have copied.

Hsuan Tsang gives a very interesting variation of the same story ?[51]

> Formerly, when Tathāgata ascended into the Trayastriṁśas heaven to preach for the benefit of his mother, Prasēnajita-rāja, having heard that the king Udayana had caused a sandal-wood figure of Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made.

At the time of Hsuan Tsang's visit to Śrāvastī, the monastery that Fa-Hsien had visited was gone except for the solitary brick building containing what he reported to be the image.[52] Cunningham's exploration of the Srāvastī site led him to identify his temple number 3 with the temple that Hsuan Tsang saw, which at that time (1863) still contained an image of the "Bala" type.[53] That this is not the image that Fa-Hsien saw is obvious, for he describes a seated image; yet Hsuan Tsang's version of the Prasenajit copy of the Udayana image is a standing figure. Simply, the tradition of the Prasenajit image was still remembered in Hsuan Tsang's time but there was no living tradition of it at the ruined site. However, an obviously early image had become the object of the modified legend which now gave primacy to the Udayana image.[54]

Fa-Hsien's version of the story is not so easily dispensed with, however. The miracle of the descent foom Trayastriṁśa is extremely important in early Buddhism and, while it is impossible to even suggest the actual events of the "descent" at Sāṅkāśya, it is one of the very early important pilgrimage sites, having been well established by the time of Aśoka.[55] The rising up of the image is typical of early, and what may be called "simple miracles" that demonstrate to total primacy of theBuddha over all phenomena.

It is widely accepted that Prasenajit actually did live at the time of the Buddha and that he was an active supporter of the early Buddhist community.[56] Thus, we are left with the problem of whether Prasenajit actually made an image or not. Unfortunately, there is no definitive answer to this question. However, long

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overlooked by art historians, there is what might possibly be an early representation of the image as described by Fa-Hsien. Found by Cunningham at Sāṅkāśya,[57] a tiny steatite plaque, whose present whereabouts is unknown, depicts a seated Buddha on the uppermost crossmember of the architectural elements of the composition (Fgures 3 and 4). In his report, Cunningham suggested that the representation shows the triple stairs at Sāṅkāśya.[58] Given the location of the findspot, this is certainly conceivable, but by no means certain. All early representations of the stairway show an obviously vertical and axially central stairway. However, in this case, the Buddha is the central figure with the "stairs" or more probably, walkway off to the left side of the composition.[59] Further, there seems to be a very solid landscape under the pavilion so that it may be suggested that it is a representation of the Buddha seated on a platform on a hill. With a piece such as this represented only by a drawing there is always the danger that the original draftsman (in this case, Cunningham) read into the elements of the object he was drawing and "clarified" them in his drawing. However, in other work that I have done over the years I have come to have great respect for Cunningham's "eye" and have considerable trust in his drawings.[60]

There are three factors that suggest a very early date for this piece. First, steatite carving was an important medium in the Maurya and Śuṅga periods but there was little done after that time. Second, the open quality of the architecture is in fact looser and more open than any surviving representations at Bodh Gayā, Bhārhut or other early sites. Given the continuum of increasing elaboration and heavier and more complex buildings that occur in Śuṅga and Āndhra-Sātavāhana architectural representations, it must be argued strongly that this structural convention depicted on the plaque is from prior to the Śunga period. Third, this view is furthered by the presence of a monumental peacock (*mayūra*), the totemic emblem of the Maurya dynasty, opposite a very small bird on the balustrade to the entrance of the walkway. This would seem too great a coincidence to be overlooked. The pre-eminence of the bird in scale over the rest of the composition, including the size of the central figure, coincides with what we know of the attitude of the early Maurya emperors, who by their conquests demonstrate that they saw themselves as universal monarchs.

While the fragmentary condition of the piece demands that these conclusions be more tentative than otherwise, the decidedly early architecture, the *mayūra* and use of steatite strongly suggest an early date. That the seated and robed figure is a Buddha is also strongly suggested by the posture and garments. The Jains and the Ājīvikas of the period both wore no clothes. Śaivite ascetics and other ascetics found in the early sculpture of Bhārhut and Mathurā are emaciated, nude or nearly nude or wear animal skins and none make the *abhaya mudrā*. In contrast, this image may be seen to make *abhaya mudrā*, wears a garment much like that of later images of the Buddha and sits in a position identical with later represensations. Simply, even in its fragmentary state, it seems self evident that the figure depicts a Buddha. If it is not the Buddha, who could it possibly be ? In short, it seems probable that Cunningham found what may stand at present as

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the earliest representation of the Buddha known. From what may be seen of the image, it is not far removed from the "common" iconomorphic prototype image that I have postulated, thus taking us one step closer to the "original" image of the Buddha.[61]

Later Tibetan commentarial literature contains a brief note of a very unembellished narrative which states that the first statue of the Buddha was made when the Buddha himself was not present at the noon-day meal offered the monks by a householder called Dad-sbyin (Sraddhā, "Faithful" or "Believer") and it was felt that the gathering lacked splendor. As a result, another householder, mGon-med zas-sbyin (Anāthapiṇḍada, or Anāthapiṇḍaka, "Provider of cakes to the poor") asked for and was given permission to make statues of the Buddha.[62] Nothing more is made of this statement, other than the Buddha had set out the specifications and that Anāthapiṇḍada had many images made. No image traces its history to it, no one is credited with seeing it or copying it, it is not described and there is nothing magical about it. Further, one of the individuals, Anāthapiṇḍada is well known in early Buddhist literature. In short, it exhibits all the characteristics of being a hold-over of a very early account of the making of an image of the Buddha. These accounts cannot be dismissed as later inventions except on the basis that they tell of the making of an image. While it is very doubtful that any more direct evidence of images made during the lifetime of the Buddha will be found, the evidence that has preceded this section and that which follows will demonstrate that there is very little reason to doubt the possibility or even the probability of images if the accounts of their being made fulfil the following simple criteria :

1. The Buddha is not present.
2. His followers wish to see him.

In the above accounts, the Buddha is absent and in order to be reminded of his inspiration, an image of the Buddha is made. As will be seen in the following section, these are also the only reasons cited for the production of images in the post *Nirvāṇa* period as well. The point must also be made that Prasenajit, Sraddhā and Anāthapiṇḍada are lay followers and not clerics. That the Buddha might have given permission to the laity to make images while not doing so for the monks is not surprising as the concepts "tameable men" and "each according to his own ability" are found widely expressed in early literature. Further, because of the importance of both as early supporters of the Buddha, it cannot be discounted that they may well have asked for and received permission to make an image of the Buddha. Indeed, if I may be allowed the indiscretion of a personal reaction, it seems to me that the narrative of Sraddhā and Anāthapiṇḍada's image are the most plausible of all image narratives. They contains no pomp, no kings, no miracles, just laymen, and specifically one, Anāthapiṇḍada, who is well-known in Buddhist literature, who wanted an image. All other narratives contain some element of either pomp or the miraculous as if to attempt to show the primacy

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over some other pre-extant narrative. For Example, Prasenajit's image narrative would seem to be embellished in response to some other earlier tradition; after all, how could the king not have the first and best image ? Accordingly, the totally unembellished account of these two laymen who simply wanted to see the Buddha at gatherings of Buddhist may signal the beginning of the whole image tradition.

SOURCES REGARDING THE MAKING OF IMAGES AFTER THE *NIRVĀṆA* OF THE BUDDHA

The following accounts of the making of a Buddha image share several points in common. Most interesting among them is the fact that none claim that the image is the "original" image. Even though these were very early images, and the account of their production conforms to the standard of unembellished narrative, to not claim "originality" suggests that there were prior claimants to that privilege. Note again that it is generally the actions and the desires of the laity that causes the images to be made.

To quote Winternitz in his *History of Indian Literature* from a passage in which he dated the earliest layers of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* to the first Century A.D., "...one thing is certain : the nature of the work as we know it, implies a *mature development* of Mahāyāna Buddhism, *especially in the direction* of Buddha-Bhakti and the cult of relics and *image worship*, and above all also on advanced stage of Buddhist art."[63] Hurvitz, in his recent translation of this important text, while addressing the problem of the age of the text, suggests, in agreement with Winternitz, that it is the verse layers of the text that are the earliest. He sees the prose layers as a kind of commentary added at a later date. Within the verse layer itself he also finds two layers, one in which it is said that there is only one path to salvation, not three, specifically an intermediate position encompassing Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekayāna and Mahāyāna, and a second layer in which the Buddha is defined as infinite in the contexts of time, space or any other finite division.[64] By implication, he suggests that the one vehicle layer is even earlier than the infinity of the Buddha layer.

Yet, it is in the one vehicle layer, the earliest in the text, where we find an elaborate discussion of the benefits of offering an image. Since, as Winternitz noted, this is a fully developed acceptance and encouragement of image worship, vastly beyond any limited set or individual "true image" concept, it may be argued that there already had been a substantial period of development by the first century A.D.

In the chapter on Expedient Devices (II), the Buddha tells of beings who have achieved the Buddha-path, which is called the "one-path" in the passage. They are those who offer *stūpas*, those who make or cause to be made images, carvings, colored images (paintings), children, again in play, who draw Buddha images, or those who make offerings to those images of various sorts. Any of these will have achieved the Buddha-path through the use of those expedient devices of the Buddha.[65] The same passage enumerates virtually every type of material used for an image, to wit : seven jewels, nickel, copper, bronze, white tin, bronze, alloys

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of lead and tin, iron, wood and clay. In fact, virtually every likely material *except monolithic stone* is mentioned ! Obviously, the tradition was well beyond any tradition of the "true" image in a specific material such as sandal wood.

Within the passage, there is a definite indication of how the image must look. Twice, the marks of the Buddha are mentioned, once as "carvings perfecting the multitudinous marks," and (speaking of paintings) "adorning them with marks of hundredfold merit." These cannot be taken as other than the thirty-two major and eighty minor marks of the Buddha which are well known from the earliest Buddhist literature.[66]

Not only are images accepted in this passage as an obviously foregone conclusion, but the scribblings of children are taken as demonstrating the achievement of the Buddha *Mārga*. There is no holding up of a particular image, no preciousness to any traditional—just simple wide open acceptance of any conceivable image. This attitude does not speak of a recent change in attitude toward images in general; there is a great comfort, ease and a sure, self-confident familiarity with images of the Buddha. If this is the case by the beginning of the Christian era, then the images that were known to the formulators of the earliest layers of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* were the product of a very old tradition.[67]

Citations from the Tibetan historians are an interesting problem in historiography. Sometimes the Tibetans have had at their disposal legitimate early versions of narratives that no longer survive in any form. Tāranātha, the source for the following account of images of the Buddha, reverses in time the Nanda and the Maurya dynasties in his *History of Buddhism in India*.[68] Yet, according to Przyluski,[69] Tāranātha must have had an independent version of the Aśoka legend and is therefore a source that one must consider when dealing with the legends of the period. He supplies the following narrative of the making of an image shortly after the death of the Buddha.[70] The three sons of a Māradhi women, Jāḥsa, who was about one hundred twenty years old, Jaya, Sujaya and Kalyāna, are converted to Buddhism and wish to build a temple for the Teacher. Jaya builds one at Vārāṇasī, Sujaya builds one at Rājagṛha and Kalyāna builds the "Gandhola (*gandhakuṭī*) of Vajrasana with the Mahābodi (image) in it."[71] While making the image, Kalyāna and the artisans shut themselves away for seven days with the materials.

> On the sixth day, the mother of the three *brāhmaṇa* brothers came and knocked at the door. [On being told it was not yet time she replied,] 'I am going to die tonight. In the world today, I alone survive who personally have seen the Buddha. Therefore, others in the future will not be able to determine whether the image is in the likeness of the Tathāgata or not. So you must open the door.'[72]

The brothers then arrange for the maintenance of five hundred *bhikṣus* at each of the three temples.[73]

The identical story is told of the image of the Mahābodhi temple in the

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Biography of Dharmasvāmin. While the two accounts parallel each other very closely, there are sufficient major differences to demonstrate that the source for each version was different and somewhat separate. Tāranātha worked from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources. However, it is not known which, if any sources, Dharmasvāmin used and it is possible that he simply recounts a legend still in circulation at Bodh Gayā at the time he visited. He relates :

> It is said that the image was erected by a young son of a Brāhmana some eighty years after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha.[74]

[Then follows a significantly different story of the conversion of the three brothers.]

> Each of them erected an object of worship. The eldest boy erected a Vihāra at Rajagṛiha, which became known as the Vihāra of Veluvana. The middle one erected a Vihāra to the west of it at Vārāṇasī, which became known as the Vihāra of the Dharmachakrapravartana. The youngest thought, 'I did not get the best of the paternal inheritance. My two elder brothers are more influential. I was born the youngest.' Said the mother, 'You should not get displeased ! The best of the three shares is the seat under the Bodhi tree, and this you get ! Place an image on that seat, facing towards the East.' Then the youngest son thought, 'Whom shall I entrust with the making of the image, and of what material the image should be made ?' In (his) dream he received the following indication, 'The material (should consist of three parts), one of precious subtances such as gold, etc., one of fragrant substances such as camphor, etc., one part (should consist) of sandal ointment. Place the three parts inside the Gandhola. Further, the sandal known as *Gośīsha* is found on the banks of the river Nirañjanā. Look for it in the sand hollows (pit). During seven days do not let anyone enter inside the (Gandhola). The image will appear (by itself). There is no need for an image maker![75]

[There follows a passage on finding the sandal in hollows where elephants lie down.]

> ...after seven days some one said that it should be opened before the indicated time. The mother said that it should not be opened before the indicated time and remarked, 'Now, since there is no one else except me who had seen the face of the Buddha, it is for me to see whether (the image) is like Him, or not. Others will not be able to determine it ! At the age of twenty I had taken the vows of a lay-devotee in the presence of the Fully Enlightened Buddha ! I am to pass away at the age of hundred.' Without listening to the mother's words, they opened the door a day before the indicated time, and they found that except for the little toe of the right foot, the image had formed itself.[76]

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By itself the narrative does not completely follow the criterion for inclusion that the origin of the image not be magical in any form. But in this case, with a very unmagical account given by Tāranātha, it seems prudent to include it, especially since some elements of the story seem to stem from earlier layer than even Tāranātha's version.[77] It is interesting that the brothers have inherited most of the Māgadhan empire. While nothing is said of their rank as nobility, it would seem clear that they were from a family of considerable importance. This is further reinforced by the fact that they conceive of and are able to devote considerable resources to the building of temples and the maintenance of monks (five hundred is a standard number, and although it is very much within reason, especially when compared with the numbers in later texts, it is very likely that the number would have been much less than that, perhaps fifty or so). The material for the image is sandal in the Dharmasvāmin version, along with gold (for covering the image with leaf?), camphor (for incense?) and sandal ointment (as a coating or applied offering?).

The age of the mother is less in the Dharmasvāmin version and her role in the opening of the door is exactly reversed in the two narratives. According to Tāranātha, she is the one who causes it to be opened while in Dharmasvāmin's account she says it should not be opened but it is opened anyway. Most importantly, in both stories, she is an old woman who had seen the Buddha and who was the authority for the depiction made in the statue.[78] This has an air of plausibility to it that is undeniable. Since the narrative in both cases is focused on the Vajrāsana, we need not expect that the shrines dedicated by the other two brothers be emphasized in the narrative and since there is no image mentioned in connection with either of them, it need not concern us in this context.

The "elemental" legend may be summarized as follows: An elderly woman, who had become a lay follower of the Buddha during or toward the end of the Buddha's lifetime, had three sons who, while they had been followers of Mahādeva most of their lives, became converted to Buddhism. Being a family of means, they offer either *vihāras* or shrines to the Buddha as a manner of expressing devotion. The eldest built the Valuvana *vihāra*, the second built the Dharmachakrapravartana *vihāra* while the youngest son, somehow elected to present his at the Vajrāsana, made a *gandhakuṭī* which was to contain a sandalwood image of the Buddha. During the process of making the image, the building was closed up so that none but the craftsmen (and the son?) might enter. Impatience caused the building to be opened early and the image to be examined. At that time, the old woman, the only one among the community remaining alive who had seen the Buddha, examined the image. She found it to be a good likeness but wanting in certain details.[79]

The importance of these three sites in the accounts and especially the fact than there was no emphasis on either the miracle sites of Śrāvastī or Sāṅkāśya further suggests that the legend is of a very early stratum. No later than the time of Aśoka (and probably well before), these two sites of miracles had become very important in Buddhist legend as had Lumbini. But the present form of the three

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legends relating to the sites all contain highly miraculous events. Even so by the time of Aśoka, they had become immensely important with the emperor either erecting pillars or carving inscriptions on pillars already erected at the sites.[80] That the "elemental" legend is only related to the three non-miraculous sites of the Buddha's sphere of activity strongly suggests a very early tradition.

Those familiar with the process of the division of inheritance in early India will also find the ring of validity in the complaint of the youngest son as portrayed in the Dharmasvāmin version. While the division of the property was held to be equal among brothers, the eldest commanded the respect of and held a dominant position over his younger siblings.[81] It is thus very possible that, although the inheritance was supposed to have been equal, the older brothers would have been given the "first choice" and the younger brother felt in a secondary position relative to the importance of his property.

Something of the nature of the image may be gleaned from the criticisms of the mother when she examines the image of the Buddha. Tāranātha has:

> A close examination of the image showed overall likeness with the Teacher. However, there were discripancies in three aspects. These were : no halo radiated from it, it was not preaching the Doctrine and, except for sitting, it did not show the three other attitudes.[82]

Tāranātha goes on to say that according to his (unnamed) sources, either the big toe of the right foot was missing (he must have known of Dharmasvāmin's version in one form or another) or that the curl of the hair toward the right was missing. Others that he cites (unnamed *paṇḍitas*) said that the hair on the body was missing. [there had been] "failure to make the robe remain without touching the body."[83]

> Dharmasvāmin relates : The mother said, 'In general' the likeness is great, but it has four distinct peculiarities, whereas the *ushṇīsha* (on the Lord's head) was not visible, it is visible (on the image). It does not show one of the four postures ! Whereas (the Lold) was preaching the Law, this (image) does not preach. Whereas (the Lord's body) was endowed with lustre, this (image) is not endowed to such an extent. Except for these four (peculiaries), it is similar to the Buddha Himself.'[84]

The criticism of the presence of the visible *uṇṣiṣa* on the head of the image is particularly striking as something that a lay person might say when seeing a conventional image of the Buddha and being asked to compare it to the actual individual. Such a statement suggests a strong air of validity to the account. Generally, descriptions of the Buddha simply assume the presence of the *uṣṇiṣa*. But here, in the person of an elderly lay follower of the Buddha who according to the account, had actually seen him, is the voicing of a concern over the presence of something she did not recognize as belonging to the living Buddha. This candor

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somehow surviving in the legend would seem to lend great credence to the basic legend of an elderly person who had seen the Buddha being shown an image made after the *Nirvāṇa*. It is also not hard to imagine the response of the image makers who might have replied, "Ah, but madam, the *uṣṇiṣa* was present and visible to those those who had attained arhatship. We have included it on the image in order that those of lesser attainment might also gain the merit from having seen it."

If we can accept this explanation of the criticism then there are other elements in it that must be taken into account. The account of the *uṣṇiṣa* demonstrates that within the life time of one person after the *Nirvaṇa*, an iconographic convention of placing an *uṣṇiṣa* on the head of the Buddha had arisen. That it was not recognized by a lay person suggests that there may have been a tradition of making images among the monks as well. Granted, this is only a tiny hint of such a tradition, but such an alteration of the figure of the Buddha would seem unacceptable without doctrinal justification. Thus, even if the monks did not make images themselves, they *knew* what the Buddha looked like.

The discussion of the four postures, that is sitting, standing, walking and lying, strongly suggests that there were other image conventions. The mention of the fact that the image was sitting but was not preaching demonstrates that there were gesture conventions which conveyed activity connotations to the viewer. (May we assume that the Mahābodi image was in *bhūmisparśamudrā*? That gesture is certainly deeply associated with the site and the Mahābodhi image). A seated, preaching image would very probably have been *abhāyamudrā* which is the common preaching gesture of the earliest surviving images.[85] The lying posture would have to be the *Nirvāṇa*. Standing and walking images are known and the tradition of placing an image where the Buddha walked seems to be of great age.[86] If this account of the four postures is of the age of the "elemental" legend, it is very clear evidence for a complex tradition of imagery at a very early date, about or prior to 400 B.C.

The accounts by Tāranātha and Dharmasvāmin would seem to give us three specific points : first, that the Mahābodhi image in *gandhakuṭī* at the Vajrāsana was very probably made within the lifetime of a single individual after the *Nirvāṇa* and second, the strong suggestion that there was a developed image tradition that included four different postures of the Buddha; finally, the tentative hint that there may have been a monk's tradition of sculpture as well.

The concept of the four postures, at least two of which are obviously identifiable as relating to the life of the Buddha, bring us to a possible "origin" of the depiction of life scenes. In the *vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins[87] is an account of how the disciple of the Buddha, Mahā-Kāśyapa, informed King Ajātaśatru of Māgadha about the death of the Buddha.

> Immediately after the Buddha had entered Nirvāṇa, his senior disciple Mahā-kaśyapa, considering that Ajātaśatru the king of Māgadha was still only shallowly rooted in his faith, 'and that if heard suddenly that the

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Buddha had passed on would infallibly vomit hot blood in his grief and die, decided that it would be best to work out some means in advance by which the news might be broken to him gradually.' In consequence Kāśyapa had the Grand Councillor Vṛṣaghakṣatriyā 'quickly betake himself to a garden, and in a fine hall have depicted in the proper manner the causal chain of events in the Buddha's career. There would be shown the former time when as Boddhisattva He was in the Paradise of Tuṣita, and His meditation upon the Five Facts as He was about to become incarnate; the triple cleansing of His mother's body by the angels of the Realm of Sense; His conception in His mother's womb in the form of a baby elephant; then after the birth, the crossing through the city walls by which He renounced His family; the six years of austerities, His sitting upon the Adamantine Throne and winning full Enlightenment under the Bodhi tree; next the time when He preached for the five monks in Vārāṇaśī; then the time when He made manifest the Grand Miracle at Srāvasṭī for the benefit of men and gods; the time when He broadly expounded the essentials of the Law for the sake of His mother Maya, having visited [the Heaven of the Thirty-three Gods; His descent therefrom to Jambudvīpa [the Earth] on the precious triple way, to be welcomed by men and gods at the city of Sānkāśya; His conversion of living creatures wherever He went in the several realms; and finally the time when having completed the sum of His blessings (?) and looking forward to extinction, He went at last to the twin *sāla* trees at Kuśinagara, lay down with His head to the North, and entered the Great Nirvāṇa. When in this way the evidences of the Buddha's career of redemption had been pictured,' the king was brought to the garden and made to look at the scenes in turn, while the meaning of each was explained to him. When he reached the final section with the Paranirvāṇa he actually did cry out and fall fainting to the ground, but they were able to revive him without injury.[88]

The human events of the story meet all the requirements of early literature, mortal beings taking reasonable actions within the timeframe and acknowledged locations of the actions of early Buddhism. In fact, there is nothing extraordinary about the human actions whatever. Indeed, there is no problem with the suggestion that the nucleus of the narrative may have been founded in an actual event. If so, it is quite possible that the tradition of the four postures would stem from this event. A point must also be made of the incidental nature of this story: it exhibits nothing except the intense devotion of Ajātaśatru and Kāśyapa's concern for him, making it an aside of a historical nature rather than a didactic device, Further, there are no claims about the paintings of any sort. They were just done, yet their function is obvious; as the king progressed along the walls listening to the account, he would see and anticipate for himself the death of the Buddha—

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a slower and less painful realization than the abrupt announcement "the Buddha is dead."[89]

From the evidence of the non-specific but obvious acceptance of images in the *Saddharma-puṇḍrika*, the accounts of the Mahābodhi image and the narrative of informing Ajātaśatru of the death of Buddha, one would have to state that there is a very strong tradition pointing to the making and use of images in the period immediately following the death of the Buddha. Moreover, it is significant that nothing is made of it in the sense of their having been the first or the original images. Whatever the history of these legends, and it may be argued that the "elemental" forms are very early, it was a foregone conclusion that there were previously made images and that these were simple incidents worth of note in the general historical conciousness of Buddhism.[90]

Another text that refers to early image making is the *Aṣṭsāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*.[91] It too contains a general, incidental reference to the making of images after the death of the Buddha in a manner that suggests that it was a foregone conclusion that such was done. However, the text is more important for telling why the images were made at that time rather than that they were made; accordingly, it will be treated in a separate section.[92]

NOTICES OF IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA DURING THE AŚOKAN PERIOD

The following four citations, taken at face value, demonstrate the continued use and acceptance of images during the Aśokan period and demonstrate the acceptance of a tradition of an early image tradition. While there is very little to work with regarding the first three legends, the forth has a surprising, yet to be recognized, corroboration in the survival of an obvious approximate copy.

Tāranātha's, *History of Buddhism in India*, which as noted previously, contained material from an independent version of the Aśoka legends,[93] mentions two images in the account of the events during Aśoka's reign and the events of Aśoka's life. The first is an image which Aśoka saw during the process of his conversion.[94] The second is an image given by a merchant to the teacher of the king of the island of Siṃhala. Āsana Simahakoṣa (or Simahakośa),[95] during the period of Aśoka's conquests prior to his conversion.[96] In either case, the image was made prior to Aśoka's activity as a Buddhist. Siṃhala has not been positively identified but according to D.C. Sircar, it is a state in the Punjab-Rājasthan region.[97] Later traditions identify Siṃhala with the island of Śrī Lanka while the tantric tradition associates it with Shambala.[98] While it is clear that Tāranātha meant Śrī Lanka by his reference to an island, it is more probable that the Punjab-Rājasthan region is indicated by the account since this was in the line of the main trade route from the Magadha region to the west coast.[99] Except for the acceptance of a tradition of early images and the lack of a claim to primacy, there is little that can be gleaned from these stories. Indications are that by the time the legends were formed, images made prior to the date of the narratives were fully accepted. However, the case is radically different with the narrative of Fa-Hsien'e visit to Śānkāśya.

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[After relating the story of the Buddha's descent on the triple stairs, he continues]

> In later days, king Asōka (sic), wishing to know where these last [the stairs] ended, caused men to dig down and find out. They got as far as the Yellow Spring (the confines of the next world), still without reaching the base. The king then became a more devout believer than ever, and built a shrine over the steps,placing on the middle flight a full-length image of Buddha, sixteen feet in height. Behind the shrine he raised a stone column sixty feet in height; upon the top he placed a lion, and within the column, at the four sides, images of the Buddha, brilliantly transparent and as unstained as strass [*vaidurya*].[100]

There is little doubt that the site of Sānkāśya was already important by the time of Aśoka. The fact that the stairs, presumably built by someone prior to Aśoka's reign reached below ground water and were only seven steps high so that Aśoka could have easily had a shrine raised over them, is of little concern here. However, he is also credited with causing an image to be placed in the middle flight of stairs. This tells us that there had not been an image there previously and, since Fa-Hsien mentions only the shrine (T'a, i.e. "pagoda") at the location of the descent without mentioning that he had seen stairs of the image,[101] the image and the Aśokan shrine were probably gone by the time of his visit (early fifth century A.D.). Again, nothing may be gleaned from the story of the image on the stairs except that it is incidental and matter of factly accepted as an ongoing part of the early image tradition.

If anything, the tale of digging down to the level of ground water, finding that the stairs went beyond, and assuming that the stairs were thereby miraculous lends an air of authenticity to the legend that could not have been known or understood in the time of Fa-Hsien's visit. John Irwin, in his series of articles in *The Burlington Magazine*[102] has analyzed the cult of the pillar as found at the time of Aśoka. Stemming from the tenth *kandha* of the *Adharva veda*, the pillar is seen as an *axis mundi* separating the waters and the heavens, literally reaching from the underlying waters of the universe (more prosaically, ground water) to the celestial realms.

> Skambha set fast these two, the earth and heaven, Skambha maintained the ample air between them, Skambha established the six spacious regions: this whole world Skambha entered and pervaded.[103]

Since the waters underlying the earth were thought to be universal and infinite, the fact that the stairs disappeared into it would have been seen as sufficient evidence of supramundane origin.[104] This could hardly have been included by later "inventors" of Buddhist legends as the cult of pillars seems to have disappeared not long after the reign of Aśoka.[105] However, the *stambha* as an iconographic element

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continues through to modern times in connection with several cults of Hinduism, Jainism and modern Newari Buddhism.

Fa-Hsien's description of the Sānkāśya pillar is striking to anyone familar with the rock-cut pillar to the right of the entrance to cave three at Kānheri[106] (Figures 5, 6 and 7). The remains of the four lions at the top of the pillar make it clear that this is a copy, at leat conceptually, of an Aśokan pillar. As a whole, the column is curiously by a *vedikā* about two-thirds of the way up the shaft, almost as if it were a column supporting a column. Above the dividing *vedikā* the upper portion of the pillar has a seated Buddha with two *Bodhisattvas* facing to the south (Figure 5) while the lower portion has a standing Buddha, also flanked by two *Boddhisattvas*, facing west (Fgures 6 and 7). Apparently, matrix for an image of some sort was left at the upper north-west corner of the dividing *vedikā*, but it was left unfinished and, as the pillar is against the mass of the rock from which it was cut on the east sides, there are no images there. All images are in high relief against the shaft of the pillar and it would seem that the positions of the Buddhas answer the general description of the Sānkāśya pillar very closely. However, it is impossible to say whether four Buddhas were intended or not. The four addorsed lions are so closely associated with Aṣoka's interest in Buddhism[107] that there is little doubt that the intent of the makers was to reproduce, at least conceptually, a famous symbol of the doctrine. Why the division of the column into two portions ? At the time of the carving of the Kānheri pillar, were there two traditions about images shining out of pillars and did the makers attempt to combine the two ? What is the iconography of the combination ? Only further research will answer these questions.

It may be immediately objected that the Kānheri three pillar is much later (around third century A.D.) and that, if anything, it represents another episode of making visible the visions of the advanced practitioners to the less accomplished. Further, no Aśoken column has been found that has the slightest bit of relief sculpture on the shaft. Yet, to warrant a copy of this magnitude, the column (or possibly columns, if the double Kānheri "double column" is a combination of two prototypes) must have been an important early monument associated with Aśoka well prior to the excavation of Kānheri cave. Again, we have strong evidence of an early image tradition, presumably predating the Christian era.

The evidence from the Aśokan period would seem to point to a simple continuation of the image tradition. It is simply there, taken for granted, unembellished and presented in the most casual, almost off-hand manner. It is, in fact, at the time of Aśoka that we come to the end of legends of early images. In spite of the fact there are many non-canonical narratives of important images, the concern ceases to be for their earliness at the hands of some historical personage; rather, they are self-originated or something of the like and the main concern is for their efficacy, and the lineage of the special teachings that accompany them. In this situation alone there seems to be the end of the early image tradition and the beginning of a whole new concern for iconic communication through the well established devotional format of image worship.

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL PROGRESSION OF IMAGE MAKING

Przyluski followed the progression of the basic Aśoka legend from the Māgadhan region where it was formulated, to Kauśāmbī where certain elements were added and modified, and on to Mathurā, where yet further changes were made.[108] It is striking that the locations of the early images also follow a geographical/chronological progression out of Māgadha through Kauśāmbī to Mathurā. The chart (Figure 8) clearly demonstrates this.[109] In fact from the chart it is evident that the first images of the Buddha must have been made in Māgadha. With the exception of the Udayana's image which has been shown to be of a later date, there are not even any claimants to primacy among any surviving tradition. Further, the one tradition to which the origin of the Buddha image has heretofore been ascribed by art historians, that of the Sarvāstivādins of Mathurā, is known to have had a proscription against the making of images which must have lasted until about 100 B.C. when the stylistic evidence demonstrated that they began making images of the Buddha along the lines of Śunga period *yakṣa* figures. In short, the tradition of making images and the image conventions themselves may be seen to follow the same pattern as the literature of the early period of Buddhism.

BUDDHADARŚANAPUṆYA : THE PURPOSE OF MAKING THE EARLY IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA

In his 1974 article, Lewis R. Lancaster called attention to two recensions of the *Aṣṭsāhasrikāprajñāpārmitāsūtra*, one translated into Chinese in A.D. 179 by Lokakṣma and the other a translation attributed to Chih Ch'ien, done between A.D. 222 and 229. Each contains a passage relating something of the nature of image worship.[110] A dialogue between two *Bodhisattvas*, Sadāprarudita and Dharmodgata, regarding the nature of the Buddha's body occurs :

Dharmodgata :

[After many lives of performing acts of merit . . .]
Then one achieves possession of the Thirty-two (marks of the Buddha) and the Eighty (minor marks) which are visible . . .

The Buddha's body is like the images which men make after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. When they see these images, there is not one of them who does not bow down and make offering. These images are upright and handsome; they perfectly resemble the Buddha and when men see them they all rejoice and take flowers and incense to revere them.

O Noble One, would you say that the Buddha's spirit is in the image ?

The Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita replied :

It is not there. The image of the Buddha is made (only) because one desires to have men acquire merit.

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Dharmodgata said :

You do not use one thing to make the image of the Buddha nor do you use two. There is gold and also a skilled artisan. If there is a man who has seen the Buddha in person, then after Nirvāṇa he will remember the Buddha and for this reason make an image, because he wants men in this world to revere the Buddha and receive the merit of the Buddha.

Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita said :

It is because of this Nirvāṇa of the Buddha that one makes an image ?

Dharmodgata replied :

It is just as you say, the constitution of the perfect Buddha's body is thus, you do not use one thing or even two, but rather tens of thousands of things, including the practice of the Bodhisattva and his original seeking for the Buddha (or Buddhahood). If men constantly see the Buddha performing meritorious deeds, then they too will constitute a perfect Buddha body, and he endowed with wisdom, the (power of bodily) transformations, flying and in sum all the auspicious marks of a Buddha. The constitution of a perfect Buddha body is like this.

The exact age of the Prajñāpāramitā literature is a much debated question[111] but is generally thought that the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpārmitā* is an early form and that parts of it date from prior to the beginning of the Christian era. In that it is deleted from later translations, the passage cited above may be considered to be among the older portions of the *sūtra*. It is important in that it may focus attention on the changing opinion on the nature of the Buddha body. As noted previously, it is as a result of this passage that Lancaster directly questions the basic premise postulated by art historians as to the cause of the origin of the Buddha body.[112] It is quite clear from the passage that the practitioner is aiming at having (or becoming) a perfect Buddha and that part of the process of doing so involved gaining merit (*puṇya*) through the act of seeing the Buddha *Buddhadarśana*). The concept of reverence to the Buddha so permeates Buddhist literature that one finds it from the earliest literature to the latest commentarial writings. It is an underlying fundamental concept of all Buddhism and is especially important for the laity. Simply stated, a tradition existing at the time of the formation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (first century B.C. or before ?) stated clearly that the purpose of making an image was to cause men to gain merit by seeing it, *Buddhadarśanapuṇya*, and nothing more.

It is also interesting to note that the tradition includes the statement that the image is not made of one thing nor do you use two. By parallel construction in the statement on the constitution of the perfect Buddha's body as being made up of the ten thousand things (a Chinese metaphor for everything or infinity), it is suggestcd that any material might be used and be appropriate for making an

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image. It may be that it is with the acceptance of this statement that it became possible to make images out of monolithic stone.

As an aside, it is interesting to note that if the passage from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* is read in the manner of "seeing-the-true-nature-of-the-Buddha", one gains the merit that leads to Buddhahood, it means in effect that one is seeing himself as the fully perfected Buddha. It would be important to determine just how much the oral tradition surrounding the transmission of the text emphasized this point (if, indeed, it did), for in such an interpretation one may suggest that the text contains clear evidence of the *devayoga* practices of Mantrayāna.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF IMAGES OF THE BUDDHA

If we can only avoid dismissing a source as late *because* it deals with images, we will find that there is an abundance of early literary and some archaeological material, that strongly suggests the possibility of very early images. Most convincing to me are the "prohibitions" of the Sarvāstivādins which demonstrate that someone else had to be making images, the Mahābodhi image, the highly developed image worship of the *Saddharma-puṇḍrika-sūtra* and the plaque from Sāṅkāśya. All of these are pre-Aśokan and carry with them the weight of pre-extant image traditions. It is possible that any one or more of the accounts given of early images may be a pious fiction, but not all of them; and, if any *one* is valid, then the whole notion of the pre-iconic phase must vanish.

It would seem relatively certain that the monks of the very earliest communities did not make or have sculpted images. At the outset, the community is generally believed to have been made up of only wandering mendicants who quartered for the season of rains in the *ārāmas* but who otherwise spent their time wandering the countryside. While this practice seems to have died out very soon in some of the early communities, their initial way of life would have precluded possession of sculpted images of any size and probably any images at all. This may account for the fact that only two of the *vinayas* are concerned in any way with images of the Buddha : the wandering groups simply did not have the physical capacity to manage them in their day to day situation. Given this possibility, it is reasonable to suggest that the earliest images, which as we have seen are all attributed to laymen, could *only* have been made by or commissioned by members of the lay community to be housed in shrines that were to be maintained by or for the laity.

The idea that the images were made so that one might gain merit is absolutely un-astonishing. The whole of early Buddhist practice is based on the concept of gaining merit. It is very doubtful if the primary reason for making (actually the patronage of the making) an image of the Buddha has ever moved away from the basic effort to gain merit. Early dedications of merit to parents, teachers and all beings abound. The offering of the image itself is a meritorious act and the concept of "seeing" (*darśana*) is of great antiquity and a fundamental element of the popular tradition in Indian religions. This, coupled with the intense popularity

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that the Buddha obviously achieved in his own lifetime may be suggested to be the underlying force behind the "first" image of the Buddha.

The idea of a popular "origin" of the image of the Buddha is by no means new. It may have been Hermann Jacobi in the introduction to his translation of the Jain *sūtras* who first propounded the concept in print.

> I believe that this worship [of images] had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Gainisn, that it did not originate with the monks, but with the lay community . . .[113]

However, at this point, true to the scholarly opinions of his time, he proceeds to adulate Buddhism and Jainism as "higher cults" while denigrating the "rude deities and demons" he assumed to have been the object of pre-Jain and pre-Buddhist religions.

Coomaraswamy developed at length the popular *bhakti* aspect of Buddhism as the element in the religion which gave rise to the need for images and in doing so, also directly suggested that the image worship has a popular origin.[114] Ironically, it was Foucher who seems to hit the exact truth, only to step away from it.

> Since when, moreover, and in what country does popular devotion trouble itself about the dogmatic scruples of the doctors ?[115]

Unfortunately, at this point, he proceeded to expound on how enthusiastically the population of the Indian subcontinent (who, he suggests by implication, were incapable of conceiving of an image) welcomed the Indo-Greek type of Buddha.

Based on this study, it is the obvious suggestion that the need for the image arose from two simple factors :

1. The need to gain merit by seeing the Buddha.
2. The desire, on the popular level, to continue to view the Buddha after his *Nirvāṇa*.

Further, both of the above were stimulated and fostered initially by the sheer force of the Buddha's personality.

The kings of Māgadha, the wealthy and even the peasants knew the Buddha as a man, like themselves, accessible, benevolent and kind, who moved about them expounding a reasonable and profound hope for eternity. But they also knew how unlike them he was. If only they could capture that most fleeting evangelical moments, the presence of his being that had convinced them of his truths, might it not somehow remind them of his way and encourage them along the path just as he had done ? If only there was something to remind them of his splendor, may be a sculpture of him would help . . .

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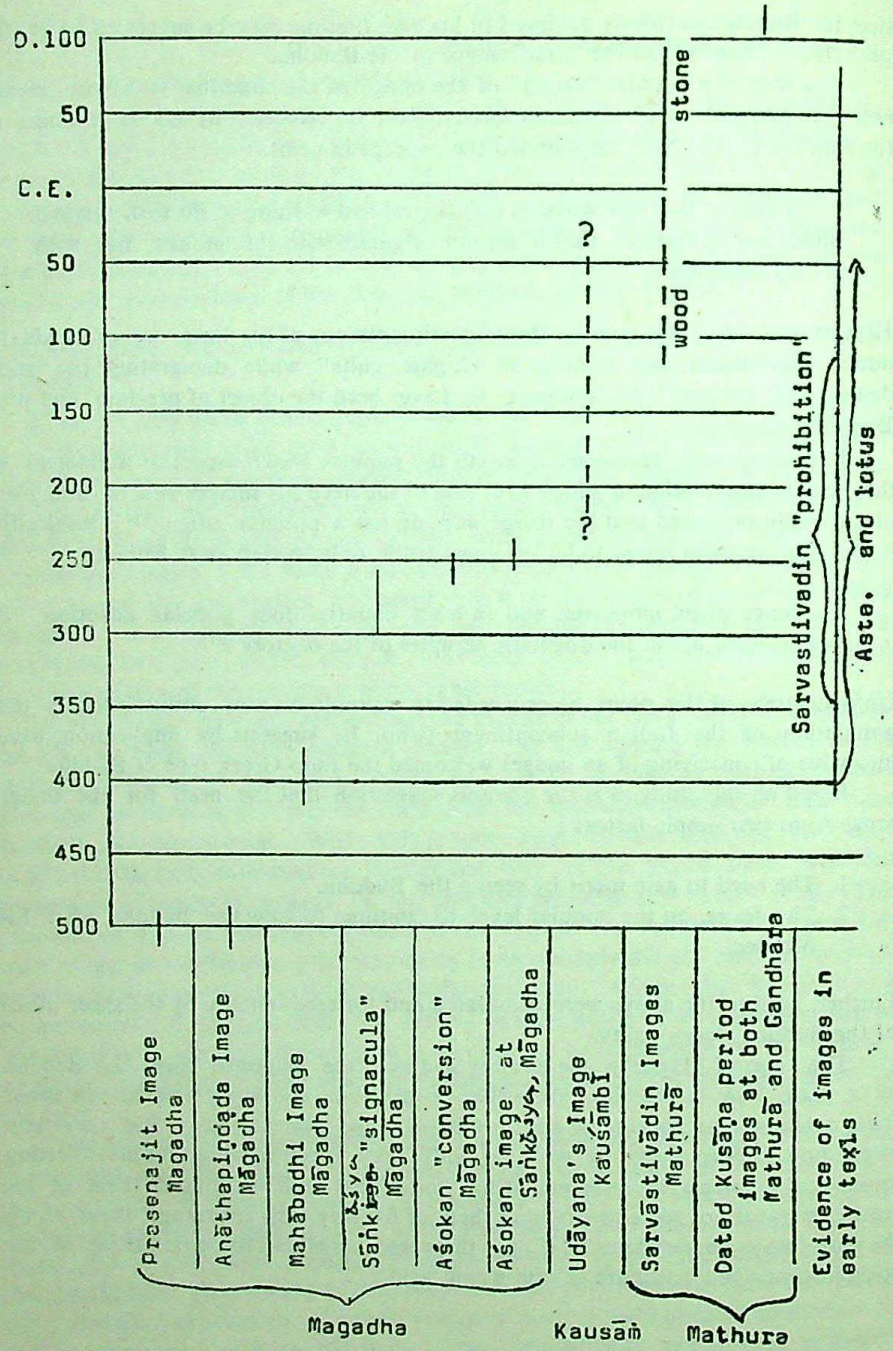

Fig. 8

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Afterword

Of all the studies that caim to represent the origin of the image of the Buddha, this one is the most severely limited in scope. There is no claim to represent *all* Buddhism. On the contrary, there is no claim to even represent any doctrinal aspect of Buddhism whatever. Until such time as the literature of the earliest Buddhist movements can be completely identified and analyzed, it will be impossible to make such a claim. If, by the time of Aśoka, there were eighteen (or more ?) sectarian divisions to the *saṅgha*, then it is necessary to admit that the divergencies that existed in the early Buddhist movements are complex indeed. While some of these were only modest issues on practical *vinaya* matters, others dealt with major soteriological and eschatological issues. However, from all the disclaimers and presentations of controversial issues, only one fact presents itself. The making of Buddha images *was not* a subject of debate from one fixed viewpoint or another. The point of this study is that in the earliest layers of the literature and in the earliest versions of certain legends, the making, or causing to be made, of images of the Buddha was a function of the devoted laity.

While very diverse sources have been drawn upon, it is by no means clear what the position of the *saṅgha* was nor is it certain how they dealt with the images created by the laity. As far as this study is concerned, the way is open for yet further work demonstrating the attitude of the various sects of the *saṅgha* toward the images and how the these images were integrated into the devotional, meditational and soteriological teachings of any given sect.

NOTES

1. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," *Art Bulletin*, vol, IX, 1926-1927, pp. 287-328. [Also reprinted as a *separtum* by the University of Calcutta, 1970] (Hereafter abbreviated as Coomaraswamy).
2. J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden, 1949, p. 153. She summed up her arguments in her "Gandhāra and Mathurā : Their Cultural Relationship," in P. Pal, editor, *Aspects of Indian Art*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 27-43. Van Louizen de Leeuw has again approached the problem in a recent article, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," in *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, edited by H. Härtel, Berlin, 1981, pp. 377-400. In it she suggests that a "group" of twenty-two Swat and Gandhāran images are both very early, ca. first century A.D., and stylistically dependent on Mathurā prototypes. Thus, she gives primacy for the earliest surviving Gandhāran image type to Mathurā. I am in disagreement with several of the main points of her paper : Her "group" is clearly not a group in any realistic stylistic sense but an assemblage of fairly closely related images in differing, probably locally determined, stylistic variations based on a iconomorphic prototype. Her identification of the prototype with the early Mathurā school is especially problematic and, to me, on stylistic grounds, is doubtful in the extreme. However, her suggestions do not materially affect the thesis of this paper (all of the images she is concerned with were made long after the images dis-

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cussed in Buddhist literature as early images) and it is unnecessary to be concerned with her arguments here. The real value of her article may well be that she did indeed find the earliest surviving images of both the Mathurān and the Bactro-Gandhāran monolithic stone tradition of sculptural images. I have no objection to such a thesis whatsoever. My only real argument with her position is that her material does not contain the true first images of Buddha; according to the evidence presented in this paper, there would seem to have been a much earlier image tradition.

3. The history of this confrontation may be traced bibliographyically in Henri Deydier's *Contribution a l'etude de l'Art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1950, pp. 46-64. It is interesting to note that Victor Goloubew was actually the first to postulate the origin of the Buddha image had been at Mathurā in a review of Foucher's work that appeared in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Oriente*, vol. XXIII (1924), pp. 438-454, and especially 451.
4. *Loc. cit.*
5. van Lohuizen de Leeuw *The "Scythian" Period* p. 155.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-161.
7. Lewis R. Lancaster, "An Early Mahāyān Sermon About the Body of the Buddha and the Making of Images," *Artibus Asiae* XXXVI, 4, 1974, pp. 287-291 (Hereafter abbreviated as Lancaster).
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. Padmanabh S. Jaini, "On the Buddha Image," in *Studies in Pāli and Buddhism* : (*A Homage Volume to the Memory of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap*), edited by A.K. Narain, Delhi, 1979, pp. 183-188, especially p. 186.
10. See Yu Wei-ch'ao, "Tung Han Fo Chiao T'u Hsiang K'ao (A Study of Eastern Han Buddhist Images)," *Wen Wu*, 1980, no. 5, pp. 68-77; Lien Yun Chiang Shih Po Wu Kuan (Lienyunchiang City Museum), "Lien Yun Chiang Shih Kung Wang Shan Mo Yai Tsao Hsian Tiao Ch'a Kao (A Report on Research on the Cliff Sculptures at Kung Wang Mountain at Lienyunchiang City)" *Wen Wu*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 1-7; Yu Wei-ch'ao and Hsin Li-hsiang, "Kung Wang Shan Mo Yai Tsao Hsian Ti Tai K'ao Chia (An Investigation on the Date of the Cliff Images at Kung Wang Mountain)," *Wen Wu*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 8-15; Yen Wen-ju, "Kung Wang Shan Fo Chiao Tsao Hsiang Ti T'i Ts'ai (The Content of the Buddhist Images at Kung Wann Mountain)," *Wen Wu*, 1981, no. 7, pp. 16-19; Pu Lien-sheng, "Kung Wang Shan Tung Han Mo Yai fo Chiao Tsao Hsiang Ch'u Pien (Preliminary Perceptions on the Eastern Han [Dynasty] Buddhist Cliff Images at Kung Wang Mountain)," *Wen Wu*, 1982, no. 9, pp. 61-65; and Li Hung-?, "Kung Wang Shan Tsao Hsiang Chung Pu Fen T'i Ts'ai Ti K'ao Ting (Conclusions About the Carved Images in the Middle part of Kung Wang Mountain)," *Wen Wu*, 1982, vol. 9, pp. 66-70. In essence, the reports are primarily on some low relief images of Buddhist images discovered at Kung Wang Shan. They are believed, on primarily atylistie grounds, to be early Eastern Han (A.D. 25-221). Since, among them there are images of a Buddha with a distinct *uṣṇiṣa* standing and displaying *abhayamudrā* and an obvious *paranirvana*, there is no doubt as the iconography of at least some of the carvings. Other images may either be Buddhas or Bodhisattvas but this is uncertain. Interestingly, all images wear distinctly Chinese style garments clearly of the early Eastern Han tradition. These figures have raised many questions about the earliness of Buddhism in China, the beginnings of Buddhist art and the earliness of the Chinese tradition of an indigenous Buddhist style.

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11. *Ancient Chinese Pottery*, National Museum of History, Taipei, Taiwan, 67th year of the Republic (1979), pp. 34 (pl. 24), 80 and 117. Surprisingly, this remarkable piece is published there "matter-of-factly" with comment on the importance of so early a dated depiction of a Buddha.

12. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw dates the "group" of images described in her "New Evidence" article to the first century A.D. (see note 2). However, other evidence suggests that the date should be first century B.C. See my chapter, "The Śaka and Parthian Kingdoms in the Indic Sphere," in Susan L. Huntington with the collaboration of John C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India : Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, Tokyo and New York, 1984, pp. 190-124, especially 113-115 and 122-123. (Hereafter cited as Huntington and Huntington.)

13. One issue among some art historians is the question of whether the image of the Buddha was somehow tied to the rise in popularity of Mahāyāna. Speculations by Benjamin Rowland Jr. (*The Evolution of the Buddha Image*, [exhibition catalogue], The Asia House Gallery, New York, 1963, p. 8) and others have led to the general belief that a need to display the "divinity" of Buddhas on the part of Mahāyanist practitioners greatly fostered the development of the image tradition. While it is possible that at some one site or another, there may have been a Mahāyāna versus Hinayana concern as to whether the image of the Buddha (but *never* as a "divinity") be displayed or not (see infra) as a general statement, it is totally erroneous. (For the Buddhological community's opinion of this approach, see, for example, Gregory Schopen, "Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions," in *Indo Iranian Journal*, vol. 21 (1979), p. 16n7.) Because this issue is irrelevant to the problem under discussion it shall not be further addressed in this article.

14. A. Foucher, "The Beginnings of Buddhist Art," in *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeotogy*, revised by the author and translated by L.A. Thomas and F.W. Thomas, Paris and London, 1917, pp. 3-7 (Hereafter abbreviated as Foucher). My copy of this book has been annotated by a most astute scholar whose insightful comments have proven useful in the preparation of this study and whom I would like to acknowledge but, alas, the individual is unknown to me.

15. See also, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XI, "The Mahā-parinibbāna Suttana," tr. by T.W. Rhys Davids, Oxford, 1881, reprinted, Delhi, 1968, p. 112.

16. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXV, "The Questions of King Milinda," part I, tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, Oxford, 1980, reprinted as *The Questions of King Milinda*, New York, n.d., pp. 113-114.

17. O.C. Gangoly, *Andhra Sculptures*, Government of Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series To. 36), Hyderabad, 1973, p. 1 (Hereafter abbreviated as Gangoly).

18. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. XX, "Books of the Discipline," part 5, "Cullavaga," tr. by I.B. Horner, London, 1952, p. 213.

19. The Pāli Text Society, *Pāli English Dictionary*, ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, London, 1966.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XX, "Vinaya Texts," part III, "The Kullavagga, IU-XII," tr. by T.W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, Oxford, 1985, reprinted, Delhi, 1969, p. 172 n3.

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22. Alexander C. Soper, "Early Buddhist Attitudes Toward the Art of Painting," *Art Bulletin*, vol, XXXII, 1950, p. 147 (Hereafter abbreviated as Soper).
23. Gangoly, p. 1.
24. The Pāli Text Society, *Middle Length Savings*, "Majjhima-Nikāya," vol. I, "The First Fifty Discourses (Mūlapaṇṇāsa)," tr. by I.B. Horner, London, 1967, pp. 134-135.
25. A. Waley, appended to "Did the Buddha Die of Eating Pork," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. I, 1932, pp. 352-4 (Soper gives a fuller translation).
26. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
27. See note 6.
28. Jean Przyluski, *Legends of the Emeror Aśoka, in Indian and Chinese Texts*, tr. and annotated by Dilip Kumar Biswas, Calcutta, 1967, p. 1 ff. (Hereafter abbreviated as Przyluski).
29. Perhaps I should remind the reader that all monks in Mahāyāna are, by definition, *Bodhisattvas* and point out that this term need not refer to the fully developed *Bodhisattva* concept of the beginning of the modern era.
30. A. Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 352 n4.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
32. Etienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien des origines á l'ère ṣaka*, Louvain, 1958, reprint, 1967, p. 703.
33. B. N. Mukherjee, "Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī Casket Inscription," *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. 28, 1964, pp. 39-45. On the authenticity of Kaniṣka attribution, see K. Walton Dobbins, *The Stūpa and Vihāra of Kaniska I*, Calcutta, 1971, *passim*.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
35. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 259.
36. See above, note 5.
37. For an example of this type, see Soper, p. 147.
38. Lancaster Lewis, *The Korean Buddhist Canon : A Descriptive Catalog*, Berkeley. Los Angeles and London, 1979, p. 104.
39. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, Leiden, 1949, p. 150. See also J. ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, (*Ars, Asiatica*, vol. Paris and Breuxelles, 1930, pl. XXVIIIa.
40. *American Committee for South Asian Art Archive*, "Kushan Period : Mathura," ed. Susan L. Huntington, Leiden, n. d.(1976), fiche no. 2, frames 37-45.
41. See above, note 1.
42. See above, note 21.
43. Hiuen Tsiang [Husan Tsang], *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World* vol. I, tr. Samuel Beal, London, 1884, reprinted, Delhi, 1969, pp. 235-6 (Hereafter abbreviated as Hiuen Tsiang).
44. A. Whaley, *op. cit.*, p. 453. For another, somewhat more elaborated version see Loden Sherap Dagyab, *Tibetan Religious Art*, (Asiatische Forschungen vol. 52), part I, Wiesbaden, 1977, p. 22 (Hereafter abbreviated as Dagyab).
45. Dagyab, p. 22.
46. Przyluski, pp. 78-80.
47. Niti Adaval, *The Story of King Udāyana*, Vārānasī, 1970, pp. 203-223.
48. Surviving copies of the "Udāyana image" in the art of China, Japan and

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Tibet all hint at a "common source" but are so stylistically divergent as to give little information about the details of its appearance.

49. Przyluski has used this and other similar methods of analysis in his study of the *Aśokāvadana*. See also Padmanabh S. Jaini's article cited in note 9 for a South-east Asian version of the same story.
50. *The Travels of Fa hsien*, tr. H. A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, reprint, London, 1966, pp. 30-31 (Hereafter abbreviated Fa hsien).
51. Hiuen Tsiang, vol. II, pp. 4.
52. *Loc. cit.*
53. Alexander Cunningham, *Reports of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar, in 1875-76 and 1877-78*, (Archaeological Survey of India [Reports]), vol. XI, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 86-88 (Hereafter abbreviated as Cunningham, A.S.I.R., vol. XI).
54. That Hsuan Tsang could not tell that the image was stone rather than wood was probably due to the fact that he never actually saw the surface of the image. The custom of dressing images, frequently in multiple layers of cloth and metal "garments", was already commonplace. The custom is still practiced throughut India, Nepal and Tibet.
55. See *infra*, section V.
56. Przyluski, p. 81 and p. 81 n5.
56. Cunningham, A.S.I.R., vol, IX, fig. 2.
58, *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
59. In an attempt to determine if the composition could have possibly been bilaterally symmetrical I reversed the tracing and superimposed the Buddha image of the tracing over that of the lithograph. The walkway of the hypothetical right side would have overlapped that of the surviving fragment; thus, it cannot have been a symmetrical composition.
60. In his initial drawings of the Lomās Ṛṣi cave facade he instinctively showed a round design in spite of an optical illusion that strongly indicates otherwise See my "Lomās Ṛṣi : Another Look," *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. XXVIII, 1974-75, pp. 34-56.
61. Perhaps the Sāṅkāśya image is a *signacula* or commemorative plaque, meant to be carried away from a pilgrimage location by pilgrims making the journey. The existence of these was postulated by Foucher and denied by Coomaraswamy. If it is one, it is ironic that they were both wrong about them. Foucher assumed that they would not have Buddha images on them and Coomaraswamy insisted that they did not exist. It is even more ironic that it had been published in a standard source ıong before either attacked the problem.
62. Dagyab, p. 22. Dagyab also gives a number of rather more magical accounts which are not included in this study. It must also be noted that while Dagyab gives his sources, he frequently fails to cite volumes and editions and he almost never gives folio numbers. Thus, without a vast library of Tibetan materials at hand, and the time to scan for a single line or two in volumes of three to four hundred folios, his references are useless.
63. Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, reprinted, New Delhi, 1972, p. 304, (my italics).
64. *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, tr. by Leon Hurvitz, New York, 1976, pp. xvii-xviii.

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65. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-42.
66. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. IV, "Dialogues of the Buddha," (Dīgha Nikāya), tr. T.W. Rhys Davids, Oxford, 1921, reprint, London, 1965, "Lakkaṇa Suttana," pp. 137-167.
67. In researching this material, it has become evident to me that there is a strong possibility of a "lost Mahāyāna Canon,' (or body of literature which had otherwise never been formally collected into a canon) in which such texts as the *Saddharman-puṇḍarīka* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrīka-prajñāpāramitā* had their sources. Certainly these were not "invented" out of thin air as there are too many of the concepts that occur in them that may be found in the pre-Buddhist *Upaniṣads*. Too much scholarly emphasis has been put on the Pāli canon as the "pure form" of Buddhism. However, it has recently become recognized that the so-called Pāli canon is actually the product of "vested interest" and was, itself based on Māgadhi versions which were much expanded to demonstrate a pre-eminence of Kauśāmbī, a city having little or no connection with the Buddha during his actual lifetime and probably not actively Buddhist until the time of Aśoka or later (see Przyluski, p. 76 ff.)

    Often expurgated, (Przyluski calls it an "exaggerated sense of modesty," p. 121-122) sometimes into insensibility, by both the Śrī Lankan compilers and its modern translators, the Pāli canon would seem little better qualified than the rest of Buddhist literature to demonstrate the "Original" form of Buddhism. Given the *Atharva Veda* and the *Upaniṣadic* precedents for much of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna, it would seem that one must look past the views of a few, very biased, late Victorians for the "origins of Buddhism."
68. Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, tr. by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Simla, 1970 (hereafter abbreviated as Tāranātha). Herein, the Aśokan chapters, 5, 6, 7 and 8, are followed by the Nanda period chapters, 10 and 11, the last of which ends with the beginning of the reign of Candragupta Mayura
69. Przyluski, p. 71.
70. Tāranātha, pp. 31-42, presented here in a much abbreviated form.
71. *Ibid*,, p. 42.
72. *Loc. cit.*
73. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
74. *Biography of Dharmasvāmim*, (K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute Historical Researches Series, vol. II), tr, George Roerich, Patna, 1959, p. 67 (Hereafter abbreviated as Dharmasvāmin).
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
76. *Loc. cit.*,
77. Dagyab gives a version in which there are images in the other temples, p. 23.
78. There is an interesting parallel to this story in the legend of the great *stūpa* of Kāśyapa Buddha at Baudha (or Bodha) in Nepal. A woman and her three sons are responsible for building the *stūpa* in spite of their apparent poverty. The implications of this parallel and the questions it raises about early Buddhism are beyond the scope of this brief study but they do suggest an exremely interesting path of investigation into early Buddhist legends and devotional practices.

    See *The Legend of the Great Stūpa*
    [*mChod.rten.chen.po.bya.rung.kha.sor.gyi.lo.rgyus.thos.pas.grol.ba.bshugs.su*], tr. Keith Dowman, Berkeley, 1973.

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79. See *infra*.
80. John Irwin, "Aśokan Pillars : a reassessment of the evidence," *The Burlington Magazine*, part I, vol. CXV. Nov. 1973, pp. 706-720; part II, vol. CXVI, Dec. 1974, 712-727; part III, vol. CXVII, Oct. 1975, pp. 631-643; part IV, vol. CXVIII, Nov. 1976, pp. 734-753.
81. Narendra Wagle, *Society at the Time of the Buddha* Bombay, 1966, pp. 86-87.
82. Tāranātha, pp. 42-43. The four attitudes are sitting, standing, walking and lying. See *infra* for a fuller discussion.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
84. Dharmasvāmin, pp. 69-70.
85. *Abhayāmudrā* was the first preaching gesture. See my chapter on Gandhāra in Huntington and Huntington, pp. 143-44.
86. Hiuen Tsiang, vol. II, p. 48. The image found at the location was the Bala image of year 3 in the Kanishka era. However, I cannot trace the placement convention to an earlier date; therefore it has not been included in this study.
87. Soper, p. 149.
88. *Loc. cit.*
89. There are several versions of this story, all built around the same nucleus, that the king would be overcome by news of the death of the Buddha. There is a late painting of the story at Qizil which depicts Ajātaśatru in a large urn of hot oil while he is being shown a cloth on which are drawn the four scenes of birth, Mahābodhi, Dharmacakra-pravartana and Paranirvāṇa. The hot oil bath would originate in the *ayurvedic* principle of opposites. If Ajātaśatru had a circulatory problem his extremities would have been cold and the apropriate treatment would have been the application of heat. This suggests that the account in its "elemental" form may have been about Kāśyapa the physician, of the Māgadhan court, rather than Mahākāśyapa, the Arhat. If this is the case, then our narrative in its "element" form would conform exactly to the use of images by the laity as postulated in this study. See A. Grunwedel, *Alt Kutscha*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 101 ff. and pls. XLII-XLIII, and A. von Le Coq, *Bilderatlan zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens*, Berlin, 1925, p. 25, and fig. 175.
90. It should be noted that in the Buddhist tradition it is the history of the image, who made it, to whom it was passed on, and the history of those who have attained success in meditations or propitiations that is the important "art history," not the "origin" of a type or the stylistic history of a particular representation.
91. See above, note 7.
92. *infra*, section VII.
93. See above, note 68.
94. Tāranātha, p. 59.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
96. *Ibid*, p. 75.
97. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1971, p. 110.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-317.
99. Przluski, pp. 79-80.

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100. Fa-Hsien, p. 25. Stress is a highly refractive, high lead content glass mix used in the manufacture of artificial "gems" which is better known as "paste." Whatever leads Giles to translate the Chinese technical term for *vaiḍūrya* (often incorrectly rendered into English as lapis lazuli), by this obscure German technical term is a mystery.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
102. See above, note 80.
103. *Hymns of the Adharvaveda* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. LXVI), tr. by Ralph T.H. Griffith, vol. II, (first publication not noted), [reprint edition], Vārānasī, 1968, p. 32.
104. The relationship of pre-Budnhist iconology and early Buddhist symbology is a virtually untouched area of investigation which shows great promise. The *Atharvaveda* and the *Upaniṣads* need to be analysed in great detail relative to their potential as source for much of early Mahāyāna thought.
105. Evidence for this may be seen in the fact that the *stambha* dies out as a symbol on early Indian tribal coins by about the beginning of the Christian era. See J. Allen, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, vol. I, "Coins of Ancient India," London, 1936, pp. 117-286. (Allen himself makes no analysis of this type; however, it is evident from the coins themselves).
106. Although the figures on this pillar are very probably the earliest known images of the Buddha and *Boddhisattavas* in western India they have received only passing notice in literature.
107. Two of the major pillars associated with Aśoka have the four addorsed lions capital, i.e. Sārnāth and Sāñcī.
108. See above, note 99.
109. In constructing the chart I have not taken the legends at face value but have depended on the analysis as presented.
110. Lancaster, pp. 287-91.
111. It is interesting to note that at least one Tibetan tradition cited by Tāranātha expresses the opinion that the *Aṣṭasāhasrīka-prajñāprāramitā* was first preached at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Tāranātha, p. 90.
112. See above, Introduction.
113. *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, "Gaina Sutras," tr. Hermann Jacobi, part I, Oxford, 1884, reprinted as *Jaina Sutras*, part I, New York, 1968, p. xxi.
114. Coomaraswamy, p. 297. One must note however, that he should have called the movement *sraddha* and *bhakti*.
115. Foucher, p. 7.

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3

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE BUDDHA IMAGES ON THE COINS OF KING KANIṢKA: NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE IN GANDHARAN ART*

JOE CRIBB

The Buddha coins of Kaniṣka are some of the earliest known depicting the images of the Buddha. There are no images of the Buddha which can be dated by inscription earlier than Kaniṣka's reign. It is therefore surprising that so little attention has been paid to these coins by students of either Buddhist history or Buddhist art. Kaniṣka's role in the formation of Buddhist theology and its dissemination to Central Asia and thence into China is well attested by literary sources (Zürcher 1968), but the impact of his reign on the development of Buddhist art is little understood. In presenting this account of the Buddha image coins it is my intention to make a clear definition of their appearance, to point parallels between them and the earliest sculptural images of the Buddha and to suggest how this illustrates the early development of Buddhist iconography and throws new light on the origins of the Buddha image in Gāndhāra Art.

The Coins. I am not describing below the obverses of these coins. They all show the regular type of Kaniṣka standing left sacrificing at an altar on the left and holding a spear on the right wearing a brimmed cap, knee length coat and cloak inscribed *Śāonānosāo Kanēṣki Koṣāno* (gold) or *Sāo Kanēṣki* (bronze). Each group represents a different design as described. Each die is a separate version of that design by the engraver (s).

I Depicting standing Buddha (Sākyamuni)

A. Inscribed *Boddo* (anticlockwise starting at 10 o'clock). Kaniṣka's symbol

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in right hand field.

The figure is shown standing facing, with the right hand raised before its shoulder in the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*), and the left hand holding the end of the cloak at waist level. It is dressed in the three monastic garments traditionally worn by the Buddha's followers and presumably by himself : 1. a loin cloth (*antaravāsaka*) hanging from waist to mid shin level and its end drawn between the legs to be tucked in the back of the waist. 2. a shift (*uttarasanga*) worn over one shoulder to below knee level and 3. a cloak (*saṅghāti*), a long sheet like cloth wound round the body, it is hung from over the shoulder across the chest and over the other arm and round the back to the first shoulder where its loose end is either held by the hand (as in this image) or wrapped over the arm to hang free. The details of the garments are shown by raised lines. Beneath the lines of the clothing the outline of the body can be discerned. The feet are bare and are shown with heels together toes right to left. The hair is dressed into a top knot *ūṣṇīṣa* and the figure wears a moustache. The forehead and raised hand are both marked with a dot, on the forehead representing the tuft of hair between the eyebrows (*ūrṇā*) and on the hand probably representing the wheel of the law (*dharmacakra*).

The ears are shown with lengthened and enlarged lobes (presumably disfigured by the now discarded ear-rings previously worn during the Buddha's princely life). Around the whole of the figure is a nimbus drawn in two arcs, one encircling the body, the other, a halo, around the hand. The halo is drawn on two varieties as two concentric arcs.

Die 1. gold unit (stater) One specimen known. British Museum Collection. London (7.04 gm, ex India Office Collection no. 289, Gardner (1886) p. 130, no. 16b). With single arc halo, details of face worn away.

Die 2. gold unit. One specimen known. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (weight not reported, Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston 1965, p. 147, fig. 10). With double arc halo, details of face worn away.

Die 3. gold ¼ unit. One specimen known. Private Collection. (weight not reported, unpublished, referred to in K. Tanabe. (1974) no. 3). With double arc halo, details of face clear.

B. Inscribed *Sakamana Boudo* (anticlockwise starting at 11 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol in left hand field, outside inscription. The figure is shown in the same way as group IA but the right hand is raised below shoulder level and the left is held at waist with the end of the cloak draped over the wrist. Details of face etc. are not visible on any of the surviving specimens due to wear. The nimbus only surrounds the head in a single arc halo; on examples struck from die 1 there are traces of what could be radiations emanating from this halo (see also standing Buddha group IG1).

Die 1. Copper unit (tetradrachm). Four specimens known (a) present location

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unknown (weight not recorded, A. Cunningham (1892) p. 81 no. 51 pl. 18 no. 8); (b) present location unknown (weight not recorded, Cunningham (1892) p. 81 no. 52 pl, 18 no. 9). (c) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (16.02 ex Shortt Collection); (d) Risho Museum Collection (weight not reported, excavated in Nepal).

Die 2. Copper half unit (didrachm) Five specimens known. (a) British Museum Collection (8.17 gm, ex Prinsep Collection no. 1847-12-1-175 Gardner (1886) no. 37); (b) British Museum Collection (8.24 gm, ex India Office Collection no. 296, (ex Masson collection, Wilson (1841) p. 370 no. 30 pl. 13 no. 2) Gardner (18,5) no. 38); (c) British Museum Collection, (8.81 gm, ex Whitehead Collection no. 1922-4-24-3586); (d) Private Collection Japan (8.17 gm, Ancient Orient Museum (1979) no. 512); (e) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (7.50 gm, ex Short Collection).

C. Inscribed (*Sakam*) *a no Boud*(*o*) (anticlockwise, starting at about 9 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol in left field, within inscription. The figure depicted as in group IB, but few details visible due to wear and mis-striking.

Die 1. Copper unit. One specimen known. Berlin State Museum, Germany. (17.01 ref. no. 2.1/1880 unpublished).

D. Inscribed *Sakamano Boudo* (anticlockwise, starting at 10 o'clock), Kaniṣka's symbol in left field, within inscription. The figure shown as in group IB, but with body curved so that the head is above the left foot and the right hip juts out. The details are less worn than usual on the specimen from die 1. Die 2 is only known from a drawing.

Die 1. Copper unit. On known specimen. Private Collection, Japan (16.25 gm, Tanabe (1974) no. 12).

Die 2. Copper unit. One known specimen. Present location unknown, formerly in Masson Collection (weight not recorded, Wilson (1841) p. 370 no. 29 pl. 13 no. 1).

E. Inscribed *Sakam* (*ano Bo*) *udo* (clockwise, starting at 1 o'clock, Kaniṣka's symbol in left field, within inscription). The figure depicted as in group 1D, but curve less marked. Details of face etc. well worn.

Die 1. Copper unit. One specimen known. Punjab Museum Collection (16.07 gm R.B. Whitehead (1914) p. 193 no. 113 pl. 18).

F. Inscribed *Sakamana Boudo* (clockwise, starting at 6/7 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol in left field, within inscription. The figure is shown as on group 1B. Details of face etc. worn but some still discernable.

Die 1. Copper unit. Two specimens known. (a) British Museum Collection (16.78 gm, ex Haughton Collection no. 1844-9-21-29 unpublished); (b) Ashmolean

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Museum Oxford (16.21 gm Ashmolean Gift 1956).

Die 2. Copper unit. Two specimens known; (a) Private Collection, England (15.15 gm, unpublished); (b) Private Collection, England (16.43 gm).

Die 3. Copper unit. Two specimens known; (a) British Museum Collection (15.04 gm, ex Whitehead Collection no. 1922-4-24-3585, unpublished); (b) Private Collection, England (15.88).

Die 4. Copper unit. One specimen known. Indian Museum Collection, Calcutta (weight not given, ex Asiatic Society Bengal Collection no. 66, V.A. Smith (1906) p. 74 no. 66 pl. XII no. 6).

G. Inscribed (*Sakam*) *ano Boudo* (clockwise starting at 6 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol not visible. The figure is shown as in group IB, but details of face etc. worn or obscured by mis-striking. The halo has rays emanating from it as on group IB 1.

Die 1, Copper ¼ unit (drachm). Specimens known. (a) British Museum Collection (4.07 gm, ex Whitehead Collection 1922-4-24-3587) double struck; (b) British Museum Collection (4.27 gm, ex Parry Collection 1922-1-16-22, ex Masson Collection, Wilson (1841) p. 370 no.31, pl. 13 no. 3), Private Collection, England (5.11 gm.).

II. Depicting seated Buddha (Maitreya)

A. Inscribed *Mētrago Boud* (anticlockwise, starting at 11 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol omitted.

The figure is shown facing seated cross legged (*padmāśana*) on a low stool which is covered with a cloth. The right hand is raised before its shoulder in the gesture of reassurance (*abhāyamudrā*), the left hand is resting on the thigh holding a water flask (*kamandalu*). It is wearing a loin cloth (*dhoti*) and has a cloak (*dupattā*) across the back which is held by being wrapped around the arm and can be seen hanging from the right forearm and across the legs. The hair is worn longer than on the standing types so that it covers the top of the ears. It is dressed into a small top knot (*uṣṇīṣa*). The ears are adorned with pendant ear-rings and his upper arms and wrists are decorated with armlets and bracelets. Details of face and hand markings and necklaces are not clear (see groups IIC), because of wear. A halo surrounds the head.

Die 1. Copper Unit' Two specimens known.

(a) British Museum Collection (14.32 gm ex Cunningham Collection no. 1894-5-6-1458, Cunningham (1892) p. 81-2 no. 57 pl. XVIII no 14; (b) Private Collection, England (16.21 gm).

B. Inscribed *Mētraga B(o)oudo* (anticlockwise, starting at 9 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol in right field written legend.
The figure is shown as in group II A except no cloth covering stool.

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Die 1. Copper Unit. Two specimens known.

(a) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (15-63 ex Shortt Collection); (b) Private Collection, Japan (weight not recorded, Tanabe (1974) no XIX).

C. Inscribed *Mētrago Boudo* (clockwise stating at 5 o'clock) Kaniṣka's symbol in left field with inscription (except when omitted on die 2). The figure is shown as in group II A except the hair is longer. On die I there is no top knot on 2, 3 and 4 it is larger and the cloth over the stool is only visible on dies 1 and 2. The figure can be seen to wear a necklace and amulet string (over right shoulder and under left arm diagonally across the chest). On die the details of the face are clear so that the figure can be seen to be wearing a moustache and the brow is marked with the *ūrnā*. The nimbus is omitted on die 4.

Die 1. Copper unit. Four specimens known.

(a) British Museum Collection (16.35 gm ex Whitehead Collection no. 1922-4-24-3608). (b) Provincial Museum, Lucknow (weight not recorded, no. 10156, Agrawala (1946); (c) Private Collection, England, (weight not recorded); (d) Private Collection, England (15.30 gm).

Die 2. Copper unit- One specimen known.

Berlin State Museum (16.56 gm ref. Prohenla-Oster, Von Sallet (1979), Gardner (1886) p. 175 no. 2 pl. XXXII no. 14).

Die 3. Copper unit. Two specimens known.

(a) British Museum Collection (17.22 ex Cunningham no. OR 0323, Cunningham (1892) p. 81 no. 55 pl. XVIII no. 12); (b) Private Collection, England.

Die 4. Copper unit. Three specimens known.

(a) British Museum Collection (16.05 gm ex Cunningham collection no. 1894-5-6-1457);

(b) Private Collection England (15.15 gm); (c) Excavated at Taxila, Dharmarājika Buddhist Settlement site (Marshall 1951, pl. 243 no. 26).

Inscriptions

There are three different inscriptions on these coins *BODDO* (I, A) *SAKAMANO BOUDO* (I B-G) and *METRAGO BOUDO* (II A-C). On some types the whole inscription has not been read, but can be inferred from comparison with similar specimens. In one case (IIA) the last letter of the inscription has been omitted, probably due to lack of space.

These inscriptions are Bactrian (Kuṣāṇa) versions transliterated in Greek letters, of the Sanskrit/Prakrit names and titles of historical Buddha Śākyamuni and the future Buddha Maitreya. On the copper coins where both Buddhas were depicted it was necessary to distinguish between them by stating their names, on the gold where the distinction was not necessary Śākyamuni is referred to simply as the Buddha.

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The titling of both Śākyamuni and Maitreya as the Buddha would imply in modern terminology that both are being portrayed after their respective enlightenments. This would be unusual in the case of Maitreya who is normally and naturally referred to as a Bodhisattva, i.e. who is destined to achieve enlightenment, but at the time of the engraving of these images, the distinction now made between the terms Buddha and Bodhisattva was not so precisely observed, as is apparent from the inscriptions of many early Mathuran Buddha images. If modern usage was being observed by the creators of this coin design, then the depiction must be viewed as a depiction of Maitreya after his enlightenment.

Various other inscriptions have been proposed for the Buddha image coins, but all the pieces described reading variously Bago Boudo, Go (tama) Boudo. Oduobo Sakama, Sakamano Bosdo, etc. have been examined in this study and as can be seen above do not support such readings (these and other variant readings have been published in Bibliography nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 24, 30, 35, 36. 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 52, 54, 57). Apart from die Al which was correctly read by Gardner (1886) and die B_2 which was correctly read by Cunningham (1892) none of the their inscriptions published here have been accurately read before.

Iconography

There are three different images represented on the coins. Two are representations of Śākyamuni Buddha standing facing, the other portrays Maitreya Buddha seated on a throne. There are minor iconographic variations in these images, but it is clear from the various dies surviving that the artists creating them were working from only three separate images. One image of Śākyamuni (type IA) shows the Buddha facing with his body rigidly balanced on a vertical axis. His clothing is that of a monk, loin cloth, shift and cloak and the end of his cloak is grouped in a bunch in his left hand at waist level. His right hand is raised in the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*). His feet are set squarely, heels together toes apart. His hair is dressed drawn in straight lines into a broad flat bun shaped top knot, depicted with tight curls. He wears a moustache. On his brow is the sacred *ūrṇā* mark, on his hand a *cakra* mark. His whole body is enclosed (except the feet) in a nimbus of two arcs. The halo round his head is drawn as either a single (die 1) or two concentric circles (dies 2 and 3).

The second image of Śākyamuni (types IB-G) shows the Buddha in the same pose as the first image, except on some die his body is drawn in a curved pose (types D and E). His dress and attributes where visible are the same as those on the first image, but the cloak end is not held, but hangs over his left wrist. The nimbus consists of a halo round his head, which in two dies B_1 and G_1 is marked with rays emanating from its circumference.

The images of Maitreya (types II A-C) also shows the Buddha with a rigid fronted pose, but seated on a low throne. His clothing and ornaments are those of royalty : a loin cloth and cloak worn off the shoulders and wrapped round the forearm, large ear-rings, a necklace, armlets and bracelets and an amulet string.

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His hair is dressed long over ears and tied in a top knot, which is either drawn as a small spot or as a broad flat bun. He wears a moustache. His right hand is raised in the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*), his left rests at waist level or on his upper thigh holding a water flask (*kamandalu*). A halo surrounds the Buddha's head (omitted on die C4). The throne is a backless stool with two (of presumably four) short slightly curved legs visible. On three dies (A1, C1 and C2) it appears to be covered with a cloth which hangs down between its legs.

As with misreadings of the inscriptions, many misinterpretations of the iconographic details of these images have been published in the past. The images have been mistakenly described as making all of the following gestures *vitarka mudrā, dharmacakramudrā, varadamudrā, dhyānamudrā* and *vyākhyānamudrā*. Foucher (1918) and Rosenfield (1967) have made the accurate descriptions of these images, but still missed many features. The *ūrṇā* and *chakra* marks on type IA and the Bodhisattva features of types II A-C are described here for the first time. (Previous descriptions of these images will be found in Bibliography nos. 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 21, 23, 24, 30, 37, 38, 40, 44, 45, 46, 52, 54, 57).

From the above descriptions it can be seen that the artists responsible for the engraving of the dies to strike the Buddha coins were working from only two iconic conceptions, one each of Śākyamuni and Maitreya. There are various minor differences in the representations, such as in the holding of the cloak and the drawing of the nimbus on the Śākyamuni image and the size of the *uṣṇīṣa* on the Maitreya image, but the functional details of the images are consistent. Śakyamuni Buddha is nimbate shown standing dressed as a monk marked with the various signs of Buddhahood—*uṣṇīṣa, ūrṇā* elongated ears, *cakra* mark on hand etc. and making the gesture of reasssurance. Maitreya is shown nimbate seated on a throne, his clothes and hair those of a prince, holding a water bottle and making the reassurance. There is nothing extraordinary in the iconographic features shown in either of these images, they reflect very closely the iconography of the majority of the sculptural Buddha images from the Kuṣāṇa empire thought to be contemporary with the coins.

Style

The translation of these images into coin designs was carried out by die engravere working at the Kuṣāṇa mints. They were presumably given working instructions and possible models by the officials responsible for controlling the mints who would in turn have been directed to do so by Kaniṣka or one of his ministers. The number and location of Kuṣāṇa mints during Kaniṣka's reign is not known. It can however be conjectured on the basis of surviving coins that three centres of minting were involved in coin production ; in Bactria, where coins with Greek inscriptions in gold and bronze were produced, in Kashmir where only crudely engraved bronze drachms and hemidrachms were normally struck and an unlocated centre where the main coinage seems to have been produced which was probably located in the Indus valley.

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A Buddha image does not appear on coins of either the Greek inscription series from Bactria or the crudely engraved series from Kashmir, but only on the coins related in style and fabric to his main coinage centre in Gāndhāra and its neighbourhood.

How many mints were active in Kaniṣka's main coinage centre is not known. Future work on dies might reveal the answer to this. It is clear however from the different treatment of designs, that the artists responsible for the gold coinage dies did not work on the bronze coinage dies.

This distinction is as expected, apparent in the Buddha image coins, where there are obvious difference of inscription and details between the gold and bronze Śākyamuni images. There is no evidence of the same artists being employed for the gold and bronze coin dies nor of any copying or influence taking place between the artists involved in spite of the similarities between the iconography. If models were presented to the die engravers, it is clear that two different ones were given to the artists working on the gold and bronze dies. It is likely that gold and bronze coins were produced at separate establishments either within the same mints or at separate units.

The Śākyamuni images on the bronze coins all appear to be derived from the same model, although several artists seem to have been involved. The direction of legend and differing letter forms divide the coins into various groups. On the basis of their treatment of the images there seem to be at least two artists or groups of artists. The dies of groups IIB-D all show the same letter forms and direction of inscription. The representation of details is common to all, but there is a considerable variation in the posture of the Buddha. The dies of groups IIE and G show the same letter form but have a different direction of inscription, however they also share various features of detail and posture with those of groups IIB-D. Group IIF dies have different letter forms (most noticeable is the cursive *a*) from the other groups. Furthermore the posture of the Buddha on group IIF is also generally squatter and more rigidly vertical. It is possible on the basis of these differences to allocate the dies of groups IIB-E and G to one artist or group of artists and those of group IIF to another. The images of the Maitreya on the coins of group III can also be allocated in the same way. The dies of groups III A and B appear to be from the same artist(s) as groups II B-E and F, while those of groups IIIC show the same letter forms and treatment of figure as those used by the artist(s) of group IIF. There can be no doubt that the three artists or groups of artists responsible for creating these images were employed as die engravers at the Kuṣāṇa mints. However the images they created depart in a fundamental way from the conventions employed at those mints in the engraving of coin designs. With the sole exception of the Buddha images the deities depicted on the reverses of Kaniṣka gold and copper coins were drawn with their head facing left to right. The Buddha images however were all engraved with heads facing forwards.

The reason for this departure from the usual mint practice lies in the models presented to the artists who engraved the Buddha images. The models used for

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the Buddha images were derived from sculptural prototypes in which forward facing heads were normal. The other deities portrayed on the reverses of Kaniṣka's coins were either derived from Roman coin types or were apparently created for the purpose. As well as the right or left facing head the figures are drawn with either the body turned to face the same direction as their head or facing forward but with a curve as in the Śākyamuni images of group ID. Most of the Buddha images however have a rigidly vertical frontally presented body as well as forward facing head. This rigid frontality is also a feature of the numerous contemporary sculptural images which must have provided the prototype for the models presented to the die engravers (The curved body of the images in group ID probably represents the die engraver departing from his model and reverting to the normal convention of his art). It is worth noting that on the coins of Kaniṣka's successor Huviṣka where the same conventions were followed the only image showing the same rigid frontality is of the Indian deity Kārttikeya (*Maaseno* = Mahāsena on the coin) whose sculptural images could have likewise provided the prototype for the coin design.

The seated figure of Maitreya likewise must have been based on a sculptural prototype. It is the role Kaniṣkan reverse type with such a sitting position. Kaniṣka's only other seated deity reverses are of Manaobago and Ardochsho, both of whom are depicted facing left seated on a throne with their feet on a stool. The only cross legged types on Kushaṇa coins are royal portraits, but in these the head is turned to one side and royal insignia of various kinds are always present. The Maitreya image is not derived from any of these, but does show a remarkable similarity to contemporary sculptures.

The sculptural images available as prototypes to the artists responsible for creating the Buddha coin designs were the Buddhist sculptures being created at two centres within the Kuṣāṇa Empire in the region around Mathura and in Gāndhāra. There are several surviving sculptures from both these centres which show such close relationships with the images on the coins that it is likely that they or pieces like them provided Kaniṣka's die engravers with the models from which they worked.

The related images from the school centred on Mathura are either dated by inscriptions to the reign of Kaniṣka or his immediate successor or are associated with the same period by their treatment and style. The related images from the Gāndhāra school are not dated but as will be argued below are probably of the same period. There are also two sculptural metal work images which show the same close relationship to the coin images. These are the Bimaran and Shahjikidheri reliquaries which were both found in the vicinity of Gāndhāra, but are not precisely of the Gāndhāran school. The latter however is dated by an inscription to the reign of Kaniṣka.

Sculptural Prototypes and Parallels

The following discussion of the relationship between the images on Kaniṣka's

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coins and contemporary stone and metal sculptural images is based on considerations of details of composition. Because the nature of the techniques involved is so different between coin engraving and sculptural modelling there seems little point in discussing questions of style.

Group IA

There is only one free standing statue which shows a close relationship to the image on these coins. It is a sculpture of the Mathuran school found at Mathura itself. (see drawing no. 2. V. Van Louhuizen de Leeuw (1949) pl. XXII no. 36 or Snellgrove (1978 fig. 32). (Fig. 9). The composition details shared by these two images are the rigid frontal posture, the square shoulders and out thrust elbows, the hand positions and functions, the symmetrical looping and V shaped collar of the Buddha's cloak across his chest, the triangular hanging cloak and the clear depiction of the shape of his body through the lines of his clothing and the *cakra* mark on his hand. Other composition details such as the *uṣṇīṣa*, moustache, nimbus are different, but there are other images found in Gāndhāra reliefs and in the metalwork reliquaries which parallel these and some of the other features the coin image shares with the Mathuran Buddha. None of the relief images parallel the rigid frontality of the coin image but they all share the following features; the hand positions and functions (where applicable) the symmetrical looping and V shaped collar of the cloak, the triangular hanging cloak end, broad flat *uṣṇiṣa*, moustache, double concentric arc halo and the heels together toes apart feet position. The relief images depicting most of these features are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Ackerman (1975) p. LLXIa), the Ethnographic Museum, Berlin Marshall (1960) fig. 63) and the former Guides Mess Collection Hoti Mardan (Marshall (1960) fig. 53, 61 and 66 now in Peshawar (Fig. 10).

It was the opinion of Marshall (1960) p. 61) and Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1949 p. 109 n 108) that statues with these composition details were among the earliest Buddhism images from Gāndhāra. Many of these features are not found on the Gāndhāran free standing images of Śākyamuni nor on the majority of relief images, particularly the broad flat *uṣṇiṣa*, moustache, double arc halo, hand positions and functions, symmetrical looping and V shaped collar of the cloak.

Several of the composition features peculiar to the coin image and the statues referred to above are also present in the representations on the images on the two metalwork reliquaries found at Bimaran and Shahjikidheri (The best pubilshed pictures illustrating all views of these two objects are in Dobbins 1968 (1).

The Buddha on the Bimaran casket (Fig. 11), like the relief images, lacks the rigid frontal stance, but shows the same treatment of hair, dress and feet as he coin images. It also has the double arc nimbus as on two of the coins. The angle of the raised hand and the broad shoulders and out thrust elbows are the same as on the coins. The Buddha images on the Kaniṣka reliquary found at Shahjikidheri are all seated, but do show the same features of hair and dress as the coin images. The figure on the lid also has the same hand position and function, while the

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meditating images around the body of the reliquary have the double arc halo. (For a discussion of the dating etc. of these two reliquaries see the appendix).

Groups IB-G

Although, as suggested above, there is evidence that more than one artist worked on the image on these groups of coins, it is clear from the uniformity of their compositional details that only one model was provided for them.

The model differed from that used for the gold coins (group IA) in that the end of the Buddha's cloak hangs from his arm and is not held in his hand, the collar of the cloak is more rounded, the stance is not always rigidly vertical, the arms project at an angle from the body, the halo is a single arc (although the technique of drawing the arc with a raised line can give the visual impression of two arcs as marked by the inner and outer edge of the line) and in two cases radiations project from the arc. All the other features peculiar to the gold coins and the sculptural parallels mentioned are present. One of the parallels, the image on the Bimaran casket (Fig. 12) is however closer in one respect to the coins of groups IB—G. This is the treatment of the Buddha's cloak end, which in both cases hangs down over the Buddha's forearm. This treatment is very unusual and is rarely met with in sculptural representations; the only example I have found among Gāndhāran sculptures is the relief published by Inghost (1957 fig. 99), in which is depicted a Buddha with the same compositional details of broad *ūṣṇīṣa*, double arc halo, moustache and symmetrically looped cloak as the gold coins and their sculptural parallels. In the Kaniṣka period Mathuran Buddha images, however, the cloak is normally depicted as hanging over the Buddha's arm, but in these cases it has not been used to cover the Buddha's shoulders but hangs unspread about his legs (Rosenfield (1967, pl. 53) shows a clear example dated Kaniṣka year 3 (Fig. 13).

As suggested above the coin images of this type which are drawn with a curved posture, even though they reflect in many ways the treatment of similar images in the Gāndhāran reliefs, more probably represent the artist involved being directly influenced by the numismatic conventions current at that time.

The radiations on the halo found on dies IB 1 and IG 1 are rarely found on Gāndhāran images of Śākyamuni, but are perhaps a simplified parallel of the more elaborate radiations, in the form of petals, on the halo of the Buddha on the lid of the Kaniṣka reliquary. Marks approximating to radiations are also found on halos of Kaniṣka period Śākyamuni images of the Mathuran school (such as Van Lohuizen de Leeuw 1949 pl. XXII no. 36) (Fig. 14). The marks consist of regularly small semicircular areas cut into the edge of the halo, the ends of which join to make radiating points at the edge of the halo. The only other deity on a coin of Kaniṣka with a radiating halo is Helios/Mithra (as Sun God). The radiations on Mithra's halo are drawn in the same way as on the Buddha coins. The function of Mithra's radiation is to identify him as a solar divinity; it is possible that those on the Buddha images have the same purpose. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1949, p. 216) has suggested that the radiations on the sculptural images referred to above have

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the same significance. Contemporary religious literature makes allusions to the Buddha's solar affinities calling him descendant of the sun or using the sun as a symbol of his enlightenment (Rosenfield 1967 p. 194-5) and Rowland (1953 p. 61)).

In some sculptural Buddha images such as that on the lid of the Kaniṣka reliquary the radiations are drawn as petal shapes—perhaps to represent the lotus which is both frequently associated with the Buddha and used as a solar symbol (Chattopadhyay (1977, p. 30) and Singh (1978, p. 67-8)).

It can be seen therefore that the representation of Śākyamuni-Buddha on the coins show numerous parallels and the relationships in terms of composition and detail to various sculptural images from the Gāndhāran schools: a small number of narrative relief images from Gāndhāra and the Bimaran casket and Kaniṣka reliquary. The features shared by some of these images and by some of the related sculptures can be listed as follows:

1. frontal posture
2. hand positions and functions
3. symmetrical looping of front of cloak
4. collar shape
5. triangular hanging cloak end
6. visible body shape
7. broad flat *ūṣṇiṣa*
8. *ūrṇā* and *cakra* marks
9. moustache
10. halo
11. feet positions

Many of these features are peculiar to the sculpture related by them to the coin images. Composition details such as the halo, hand positions and functions, symmetrical looping of cloak front, moustache, etc. are treated in a completely different way in the majority of Gāndhāran sculptures. It has been observed that some of these features also appear on early Buddhist images of the Mathura school particularly 1-6 above).

Group II A-C

Available images of Maitreya of the period of Kaniṣka are less in number than those of Śākyamuni. This limits the source for sculptural prototypes for the coin images. No complete seated Maitreya sculptures of Kaniṣka or Huviṣka's reign have survived from the Mathuran school, although small images of him appear in reliefs from Mathura of the same period. The fragmentary remains of Maitreya images such as that dated year 29 (Rosenfield (1967, pl. 32)) show that there were seated Maitreya images from the Mathura school available as prototypes. The standing Mathura Maitreya from Ahicchatra (Rosenfield

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(1 967 pl, 54)) which is datable on its composition and style to the period of Kanişka and Huvişka gives a fair indication of what the appearance of the upper half of the year 29 sculpture might have been. The coins of groups IIA and B and die I of group IIC all show a close affinity to the Ahicchatra image in that the hair is dressed either without a top knot or with one which is tiny and virtually imperceptible. In this respect the statue and these coins are like the Kanişka year 3 Mathuran image of Śākyamuni (Rosenfield (1967 pl. 53)). The broad shoulders and squarely set arms of groups IIA and B also recall this and the Ahicchatra statue. The treatment of dress and jewellery are also similar on these coins and the Ahicchatra image, although the amulet string on the chest and the cloak over the arm on the coins are mirror images of the statues.

The remaining dies 2-4 of group C on the other hand show a larger top knot, which is very similar in dressing to that on the coin images of Śākyamuni, and the shoulders are narrow and the arms not held so squarely. The dress and jewellery, where visible, are however no different to the other groups. Apart from the dress these images of group C2-4 closely resemble those Gāndhāran Maitreyas whose hair is dressed with a bun shaped top knot such as the Hashtnagar pedestal image (Van Louhuizen de Leeuw (1947 p. VIII no. 13). Such Gāndhāra images are invariably shown with a cloak over their left shoulder and hanging over the right forearm. The coins show no evidence of this. The bun shaped top knot is not normal on Gāndhāran Maitreya images on which the hair is more normally dressed into a loose double looped knot (as on the piece illustrated by Marshall (1960 fig. 139)).

All the coins except IIC 4 show a feature with is peculiar to themselves and is not found in sculpture. This is the drawing of the legs as a triangle with an open centre. Group IIC 4 has the legs drawn in the same way as most Gāndhāran seated Buddha figures with the legs shaped at a rectangular block. The triangular configuration is more closely related to the Mathuran figures datable to Kanişka or Huvişka's reign. In no case do the sculptures have the central aperture, but they do show a triangular arrangement of the legs. The Maitreya dated year 29 (Rosenfield (1967 pl. 32) for example illustrates this feature with the two sides of the triangle formed by the upper edge of his thighs and the base by the stool he is seated upon. The calves of this image form the sides of another triangle within the larger configuration as on group IIC3. The other seated images of this period all show the same treatment (Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1947 pl. LXVII-XXII nos. 27, 31, 32, 34 and 35)). It is possible that the central aperture is drawn to create a "birds eye" view of the Buddha's crossed legs. A Gāndhāran seated Maitreya image exhibiting sufficient of the composition features of the coins to be associated with them is a free standing image in Lahore (Ingholt (1957 no. 299)). The features it shares with the coins and not normally found in Gāndhāran Maitreya images are the triangular profile of the legs, the bun shaped *uṣṇīṣa* and the uncloaked right arm. This image also shares various features with the Śākyamuni image coins—a double arc halo, the position of

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the raised gesturing hand with a clear *chakra* mark on it. As on group IIA 1 and C1 and II the stool is covered by a cloth. It is perhaps worthy of note that from a stylistic view point this image closely resembles, in its face and in the visibility of its body through the drapery, sculptures of the Mathuran school. A remarkably similar standing Maitreya also exists in the Calcutta Museum Collection (Marshall (1960, fig. 142), but with a moustache (as visible on coin group II C1) and with radiations marked on his halo (cf. coin group IB1 and G1).

A final point about the coin images of Maitreya which does not relate directly to the sculpture is the position of the gesturing right hand. Where visible the Buddha's hand is held before the chest below shoulder level. A direct parallel to this is only found in the position of the gesturing hand of Śākyamuni on the Bimaran casket.

It is clear therefore that, like the Śākyamuni image, the representations of Maitreya on these coins shows numerous parallels and relationships of composition and detail to a limited number of Gāndhāran images as well as to every Buddhist images of the Mathuran school. These associated sculptures are the same or similar to those shown above to be clearly related to the coin images of Śākyamuni.

In conclusion this examination of the parallels between the coin images and sculpture from the Kuṣāṇa territory has shown that not only did the die engravers work from models based on sculptural prototypes, but that some statues closely related in composition to these prototypes have survived. The variations discernable in the coin images perhaps reflect the fact that as well as several artists working on them there were probably several sculptures used as prototypes in the production of the models from which they worked.

The surviving sculptures which most closely relate to the coin images and are therefore the closest in form to the prototypes from which the coin designs were derived are as follows.

(a) Gāndhāran sculptures such as those in the Hoti Mardan Collection (now in the Peshawar Collection) and pieces in similar style.
(b) The Bimaran and Shahjiki Dheri (Kaniṣka's) reliquaries.
(c) Mathuran sculptures datable (by dated inscriptions or style) to the reign of Kaniṣka or his immediate successors.

Kaniska and Gāndhāran Sculpture—some implications

It is remarkable that art historians discussing the origins and development of Buddhist art in Gāndhāra have paid little or no attention to these coin images which must have been created so close in time and place to the first sculptural images of the Buddha. Foucher's (1918) comments on the image on the gold coins (IA1) are typical of this disregard; he said it was too small for any judgement, but clearly already very conventionalised. Others such as Bussagli (1968), Rosenfield

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(1967), Snellgrove (1978) and Zwalf (1979) have remarked in passing on the Gāndhāran features of the coin images, but surprisingly the relationship between them and Mathuran sculpture known from inscriptions to be contemporary has never been commented on before.

That the coins show features associating them with sculptures from the Mathura school known to have been carved during the same period is surely to be expected. The relationship between the Buddha images on Kaniṣka's coins and his reliquary is equally predictable. However the links between the coin images and certain Gāndhāran sculptures suggest something about the chronology and development of the Gāndhāran school not previously recognised.

The Gāndhāran images associated by their composition with the coins are in the style identified by Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1949), Marshall (1960) and others as perhaps the earliest Buddhist images of that school. The judgement, made by them on stylistic grounds, was based on a view of Gāndhāran art as gradually developing from tentative beginnings to a perfection of technique which produced the masterpieces which epitomise the work of this school, (such masterpieces are the image of Śākyamuni in Lahore (Marshall 1960 fig. 131-34 fig. f)) and that of Maitreya in Peshawar (Marshall 1960 fig. 139). The Gāndhāran images associated with the coins are however also related thereby with images both from Gāndhāra (i.e. the Kaniṣka reliquary) and Mathura which are datable to the region of Kaniṣka. I suggest that it is in fact these Kaniṣka period Mathuran features which unwittingly enabled Van Lohuizen de Leeuw and Marshall to isolate these Gāndhāran images as distinct from the more characteristic products of that school.

It was shown by Coomaraswamy (1927) that both the forms of the earliest standing and seated Buddha images from Mathura were derived from other religious images already being produced there. These standing and seated images are respectively adaptations of the yakṣa and Jain cult images being carved by Mathuran sculptures, before the reign of Kaniṣka. The Mathuran sculptors when commissioned to create images of the Buddha did so using the figurative vocabulary already available to them. So that the Śākyamuni image of Kaniṣka's year 3 (Rosenfield 1967 fig. 53) would be identified as a yakṣa figure except for a few minor changes of detail such as the absence of jewellery, the barehead (probably with *uṣṇīṣa*) the *ūrṇā* mark, the gesture of reassurance (not now visible due to the destruction of the figures's right arm) and the lion between his feet; and likewise the Katra Buddha (Van Lohuizen de Leeuw 1947 pl. XIX no. 31) is only distinguishable from a Jain figure, because of its clothes *uṣṇīṣa*, *ūrṇā* etc. and gesture of reassurance.

Gāndhāra sculptures and reliquaries related to the coins show an adaptation of these Mathuran Buddhist images derived from the Indian tradition, but with further changes of detail. The changes of detail here were not those dictated by function but by the artistic conventions of the artists creating them. Whereas the Mathuran artist when adapting the local Indian images to fit the dictates

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of the Buddhist religion were able to add or subtract the necessary details but, retained their own stylistic techniques in modelling the face, clothing, etc., on the other hand the Gāndhāran artists, schooled in the Hellenistic traditions used different modelling effects but retained the formal aspects of the same Indian images. The Hellenistic techniques immediately discernable in the coin designs and the related sculptural images are the more realistic modelling of hair and clothing, in contrast to the Mathuran artists' handling of these details in a tight stylish manner with rhythmic folds and curls. The more characteristic sculptures of the full flowering of the Gāndhāran school show an even greater departure than the coin and related images from the Mathuran form's rigid treatment into the relaxed naturalism of Hellenistic sculptural technique.

Although very little Hellenistic sculpture predating the beginnings of the Buddhist image has been found in the North West frontier region, that which has survived shows that the artists working there were working within the Hellenistic tradition, even though this had been continually distorted by Scythian, Parthian and Kuṣāṇa influence. The images from Khalchyan (Pugachenkova, 1965) illustrate the ability of Kuṣāṇa artists to handle Hellenistic sculptural techniques, even when constructing non-Hellenistic images. The art of the Parthian precursors of the Kuṣāṇas in Gāndhāra was equally part of the same tradition. The coin engravers likewise maintained these techniques which were ultimately derived from the 3rd-2nd century Greek rulers of the same area. These Hellenistic traditions were further kept alive by the continued import of objects from the Greek world which by this period had become part of the Roman Empire. The artistic influence of imported Roman coins on Kuṣaṇa designs has long been recognised (Gobl, 1960). The coin engravers, metalworkers and sculptors of Kuṣaṇa Gāndhāra, when first asked to create Buddha images, did so using the Hellenistic conventions already available to them. However the only models they had available on which to base the composition of these images were of Indian origin—from Mathura. Although the artists of Gāndhāra had no problem in modelling faces, hair, clothing, limbs, etc. they were not acquainted from any source other than Mathura with such images as a figure seated in the lotus position, or a standing figure making a specific *abhayamudrā* gesture.

The Hellenistic images which are known to have been produced in the reign of Kaniṣka, i.e. the coins and Kaniṣka's reliquary and therefore soon after what appear to be the earliest Buddha images at Mathura, show exactly the execution of Indian forms wlth a minimum of Hellenistic modelling. The Mathuran features in these images are so apparent that there can be no doubt that the artists creating them did not have available to them the more characteristic products of the Gāndhāran school for copying. The same can be said of the other Hellenistic images which have been shown above to be closely associated with the coins, i.e. the Bimaran casket and the Gāndhāran stone images with the same compositional details.

Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1947), Marshall (1960) and Rowland (1936) all make

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a distinction between the Gāndhāran sculptures exhibiting similarities to the coins and reliquaries and the more characteristic sculptures which typify the work of that school. They respectively call the former "old native art", "period of adolescence" and "archaic" and the latter "apex", "maturity" and "classic". More recently Ackermann (1975) has referred to these two phases as "Hellenistic" and "Romanised". Whatever terminology is applied, it is clear that on the basis of their stylistic analysis all these authors have found evidence for the distinction between earlier and later phases in the development of Gāndhāran sculpture, which I have proposed above on the basis of a change in composition and detail. Stylistic criteria can always be disputed on grounds of personal judgement, but the division on the basis of composition and details cannot be treated in the same way.

It could be suggested that the artists who created the coin images, together with the metalworkers and sculptors who created the closely related images, were actually working from prototypes based on the products of the Mathuran school. Because the Hellenistic elements they introduce into their images are minimal and not mutually consistent, it is certainly clear that they were not all working from a pre-existant conventional Buddha image created by Hellenistic artists. The individual artists involved in creating these images each took a prototype derived from an Indian (i.e. Mathuran) origin and reproduced it using the conventions available to him, in varying degrees and varying respects. The surviving sculptures, coin and metalwork images probably represent the second or third step in this process, but all are sufficiency close to the prototypes to maintain a close connection with Mathuran original.

Professor J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw (1981) has recently published some Gāndhāran Buddhist sculptures of great importance. Her discovery of these sculptures, which show Gāndhāran artists deriving their designs from the earliest places of Buddhist sculpture at Mathura, is a major step forward in the study of the history of Indian sculpture. (Among her discoveries there is the first known example of aniconic Buddhist sculpture from the hands of a Gāndhāran artist (fig. 2). She illustrates thirteen Gāndhāran Buddha relief images (fig. 6-7 and 9-19) which reflect very closely the details of those Mathuran sculptures of the Buddha which are dated or dateable on stylistic grounds to the reign of Kaniṣka or earlier. Professor Van Lohuizen de Leeuw also refers in this article to the Buddha image on the lid of the Kaniṣka reliquary. On the basis of her discoveries she is now able to suggest that it be dated "somewhat later than our group of early (i.e. Gāndhāran) reliefs" and to show that it "belongs to the period of subsequent development". She provides further evidence of this stage of "subsequent development" with illustrations of four images (fig. 31-34) which possess some or all of the composition details of the coins and the stone and metal work images related to them. Her interpretation of her new evidence would place the coin images in the second stage of the Buddha image in Gāndhāra.

Both the coin evidence, as I have outlined it, and Professor Van Lohuizen

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de Leeuw's material on early Gāndhāran Buddhas bring further support to the theory, suggested by Coomaraswamy (1927) long ago, that the artists of Gāndhāra took the Buddha image created at Mathura as their original model. The provenance of Professor Van Lohuizen de Leeuw's early reliefs suggest that this first step by Gāndhāran school sculptures took place in the Swat area, but by the second developmental phase as exhibited by the coins, etc. the production of Buddhist images in Gāndhāra had spread to the larger urban centres (such as Peshawar and Taxila) where Kaniṣka's court and mints seem to have been located. The dating of second phase images to Kaniṣka's reign suggest a vital new key point in the relative chronology of Gāndhāra sculpture.

Recent excavations in Pakistan (Dani 1966, 1969 (1), (2). Faccenna 1964) have produced Buddhist images related to the coin and other images in their earliest leads yielding Gāndhāran sculpture. At one site Shaikandheri (Dani 1966) the earliest level producing such images dated by numismatic evidence to the reign of Kaniṣka or later also produced an early Mathuran image of the style of Kaniṣka's reign. (Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, 1981, has listed the other finds of early Mathuran images from the Gāndhāra area.) The full flowering of the artists of the Gāndhāran shool so evident in the numerous masterpieces created by them and the numerous imitations it generated both to the north in Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan and to the south in India where even Mathuran sculptors adopted Gāndhāran modelling was built entirely on these modest beginnings. The stimulus to their art created by the increased demand for Buddhist images, resulting perhaps from Kuṣāna patronage, enabled them to perfect their skills. It has been suggested by Rowland (1953) Ackerman (1975) and others that this execellence was only achieved under the direction or influence of Roman artists. However, even though the Hellenistic world in the form of the Roman Empire continued to have some impact on North West India, there is no reason to doubt that the techniques and conventions necessary for the creation of these Hellenistic masterpieces was not already available in the area and only needed the opportunity of continued practice to reach such perfection. It is debatable whether direct Roman influence is detectable, when the common Hellenistic heritage Rome shared with Gāndhāra is considered.

Chronology

Tanabe (1974) has suggested that the various stylistic features of the coins give an indication of their internal chronology. However the works on which such an internal chronology could be based, i.e. a die study of the coins, has not yet been done. His proposals that the legend arrangements on the reverse or the sword position on the obverse are of chronological significance do not bear scrutiny. The differentiation of sword positions he referred to are merely a result of comparing gold with bronze coins which are invariably differentiated in this way. The legend arrangements, as pointed out above, relate more to the artists involved than to any chronological developments. If there is any evidence

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of an internal sequence in the coins it must surely be related to the extent of their stylistic developmet in relation to their prototypes. Whether this is of chronological significance, can in no way be determined on the basis of available evidence.

On this question it can only be said that the Buddha images do not appear on the gold or bronze coins of Kaniṣka which bear his name and titles in Greek, and if, as is generally believed, these represent his earliest issues, then the Buddha images were not made immediately at the start of his reign.

The above proposals concerning the relationships between Kaniṣka's reign and the development of Buddhist art in Gāndhāra are of limited relevance to the wider questions of an absolute chronology for either Kaniṣka's or Gāndhāran art. Although it must now be seen that the solution of one of these problems will go a long way towards solving the other. The four dated Gāndhāran Buddha images would now be more susceptible to a dating relative to Kaniṣka's reign. If it is accepted that the Mamane Dheri image of yr. 89 (Dobbins 1968(2) is dated in the era of Kaniṣka, then its separation by 60 years from the images of the reign of Kaniṣka is in full accord with its more developed composition and style.

The sculpture dated year 5 published by Harle (1974) cannot in view of its complex iconography and more sophisticated treatment of both the Śākyamuni and Maitreya images be easily dated to the same reign as either Kaniṣka's coin images or his reliquary. The only other era with such a low date in use in this area during the period of the full flowering of the Gāndhāran style is the second Kuṣāṇa era. The existence of this era beginning c. yr 100 of the Kaniṣka era is well attested at Mathura (Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, 1974 and Rosenfield, 1967) and there are at least two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions dated in it both found near Taxila: at Kumra published by K.W. Dobbins (1975) and dated year 30 (misread by Dobbins as dated 160) and at Āra published by Konow (1929, p. 162) and dated year 41. The Kamra inscription is in the name of a Kuṣāṇa king Vajheṣka who is also known from coins (as Bazeshko) and Mathuran inscriptions to have ruled the Kuṣāṇa state during the 20's of the second Kuṣaṇa era as successor of a Kaniṣka who succeeded Vāsudeva I after the 98th year of the Kaniṣka era. It also refers to the birth of his son called Kaniṣka. The Ārā inscription is in the name of a Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, who is the son of Vajheṣka.

The gold coins issued after the reign of Vajheṣka are also in the name of a king Kaniṣka. If both these inscriptions from the area where Gāndhāran sculpture flourished are in an era starting about year 100 of Kaniṣka's I's era, it becomes a possibility that the year 5 inscription is also in the later era. Such a relative dating would explain not only the artistic and iconographic developments discernable but also its close facial resemblance to the Mamane Dheri image which would now have been made only 16 years earlier of Harle's proposed 84 years later.

I proposed the existence of a second century of dates in a Kuṣāṇa era in the Gāndhāra area in my article (1981) on Gāndhāran Coin Hoards (p. 107). This

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was on the basis of my reinterpretation of the Ārā inscription. (My new reading of the Kamra inscription as a date in the same second century was first published in my paper to the 6th International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeology at Cambridge in September 1981 when I also suggested a reassessment of the dating of the year 5 Gāndhāran Buddha on the basis of the argument outlined above. Subsequently Prof. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw, in a paper to the Late Kuṣāṇa Numismatics Colloquium held in London in November 1981, has demonstrated on linguistic and epigraphic grounds that these and several other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions for Gāndhāra should be ascribed to what I call above the second Kuṣāṇa era, but which she more correctly has dubbed the second century of Kaniṣka's era. Her demonstration of the use of this second century in Gāndhāra is a major contribution to an understanding of Kuṣāṇa political history and chronology. The numismatic evidence relating to the sequencing and identity of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniṣka (II), Vajheṣka and Kaniṣka (III) referred to in these inscriptions and coins was also presented to the same colloquium in a paper I read on the sequence of the Kushāṇo Sasanian coin series.

The developed style of the images dated 318 (see fig. c) and 384 (Dobbins 1968 (2)), while allowing them to be placed later than Kaniṣka's reign, does not give any indication of the era used for their dates. Such an identification of the era would only be possible if Kaniṣka's absolute chronology were certain. The two areas which have been suggested : an Indo-Greek era commencing c. 150 B.C. and the Azes commencing c. 58. B.C. (now frequently identified with the Vikrama era), respectively date the statues c A.D. 168 and 234 or c. A.D. 250 and 326. Neither of these suggestions would fundamentally contradict what is proposed here, no do they offer ready solutions to the problems of their own or Kaniṣka's absolute chronology.

The Functions of the Buddha Images on Kaniṣka's Coins

There is nothing intrinsic about the Buddha images on Kaniṣka's coins which explains why they were used as coin designs. Various suggestions have been made in the past. Rowland (1953, p. 80) suggested a propagandist motive, and Sircar (1951 p. 147) and Chattopadhyay (1967) similarly proposed that they were intended as a reflection of Kaniṣka's religious beliefs. Ingholt's (1957) elaborate explanation concerning the function of Kaniṣka's coin types in foreign trade does not correspond with the coin find evidence of their circulation within his realm. Rosenfield (1967 p. 69-74) rejected these proposals and made the more plausible suggestion that the deities depicted on the reverses of Kaniṣka's coins were being indicated as supporters and participants in the king's authority as "imperial companions" (*comites augusti*). Macdowall (1975, 1978) has added a rationale to the selection of some of the deities, by identifying six of them as Mithraic attendants of the kings and pointing to their use as indicators of mint organisation by workshops. As the Buddha images are not among the six Mithraic attendants, they must therefore represent extrordinary issues, perhaps of a commemorative nature.

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It is reasonable to suppose that Kaniṣka's traditional adherence to Buddhism may have been sufficient reason for him to have considered Śākyamuni and Maitreya to be his "imperial companions". Likewise the rareness of the Buddha image coins suggests that their issue was unusal and perhaps therefore for special occasions, perhaps they were made for events related to the religious practices of Kaniṣka and his subjects—such as ritual largesse or foundation deposits.

Whatever process was involved in Kaniṣka's use of Buddhist images, it must have closely paralleled that which determined his selection of other deities for use as reverse types for the coins. The common factor of divinity which marks all the other selected images must also have applied in Kaniṣka's mind to the Buddha images. The conception of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Maitreya as divine figures must have been a prerequisite of their use as reverse types on Kaniṣka's coins which position they share with Śiva, Mithra, Ahuramazda, etc. Such an attitude towards the Buddhas must also have been necessary for their representation.

Conclusion

Numismatic

Fourty nine coins of Kaniṣka with Buddhist reverse types have been studied, on which there are twenty different representations, fourteen of Śākyamuni and six of Maitreya. There are three representations of a standing image of Śākyamuni inscribed *Boddo*, all on gold coins. There are eleven representations of six standing images of Śākyamuni inscribed *Sakamano Boudo*, all on copper coins. There are six representations of three seated images of Maitreya inscribed *Metrago Boud* (*o*), all on copper coins.

Iconographic

All the images of Śākyamuni depict him standing facing wearing monastic robes and making the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*). When the details are visible he is marked with *ūrṇā, uṣṇīṣa, chakra* mark on hand, elongated ear lobes, and moustache. On one image his whole body is enveloped in a halo, on the others only his head. In two cases this halo is marked with radiations.

The images of Maitreya depict him seated with crossed legs *padmāsana* on a low stool making a gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*). When the details are visible he is wearing princely robes and ornaments (ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces and amulet string). His left hand is holding a water flask. His hair is dressed in a top knot (of varying size) and his head is surrounded by a halo (in one case omitted).

Art Historical

A close relationship is identified between certain Buddhist sculptures of the Gāndhāran school and the coins, reliquary and Mathuran sculptures datable to

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to the reign of Kaniṣka. This relationship shows that these Gandharan sculptures are the result of close copying by Hellenistic artists of the Indian compositions created by the Mathuran school. The Buddhist images on the coins and Kaniṣka's reliquary show the same Hellenistic rendering of Mathuran forms. The Bimaran casket is shown to be another example of the same phenomenon. This evidence suggests that the earliest Buddhist images of the Gāndhāran school are based on the sculptures of the Mathuran school which first created images of the Buddha early in the reign of Kaniṣka. It is proposed that the Kuṣāṇas might have given the stimulus for their creation.

Chronological

If the proposed relationship between Gāndhāran and Mathuran sculptures and the reign of Kaniṣka are acceptable, it follows that the chronology of all three are dependant upon each other. The solution of the dating of either Gāndhāran sculpture or Kaniṣka would resolve the other. Because the evidence provided by the coins is only relative, it does not offer answers to either problem. It does however reaffirm the attribution of the year 89 Mamane Dheri image to the era of Kaniṣka and it suggests the placing of the year 5 image (published by Harle, 1974) in the second Kuṣāṇa era (i.e. c. year 105 of Kaniṣka's era), but no attribution can be made on the basis of this evidence for the identification of the era of the year 318 Lorian Tangai and year 384 Hashtnagar images.

Theology

The traditionally accepted role of Kaniṣka as devotee and patron of Buddhism is further confirmed by the existence of his Buddhist coin types. The identification of one of these as Maitreya links Kaniṣka more closely with the Hinayana cults such as the Dharamguptakas who were active in Mathura and Gandhara erecting sculptural images of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Maitreya. The iconography of the coins is so closely related to that of the Buddhist sculpture of the Kuṣaṇa realm that there can have been no fundamental difference between the Buddhism of Kaniṣka and that of his subjects.

This study has, it is hoped, shown that, far from Foucher's (1918) dismissal of them as too small to be of significance, the Buddhist images on Kaniska's coins are worthy of closer examination and have a considerable contribution to make to the study of Buddhism aad the development of Buddhist Art.

Appendix I

The Bimaran Casket and Kaniṣka's reliquary from Shahjiki Dheri

It has been suggested above that these two reliquaries are closely related by the composition of the images on them with the period of Kaniṣka I. Because other

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opinions published on them disagree with such a relationship it is necessary to explain in more detail why they can be dated to Kaniṣka I's reign.

Kaniṣka's Reliquary

The Kaniṣka reliquary has on it an inscription which describes it as a gift of a king Kaniṣka. Dobbins (1968, 1) has discussed the various attempts at attributing it to various kings of this name. Of the Kuṣāṇ kings known from coins and inscriptions there are three known as Kaniṣka. Kaniṣka I the issuer of the Buddha coins, Kaniṣka II who struck coins after Vāsudeva I and is known from inscriptions dated in the second Kuṣāṇ era years (10)5—(1)17 at Mathura and Kaniṣka III who struck coins after Vajeṣhka, Kaniṣka II's successor and is known from the Āra inscription dated in the second Kuṣāṇ era year (1)41 (v. supra). The reliquary can be attributed only to Kaniṣka I because of its iconography and the king's garments. The king depicted on the reliquary is flanked by Mithra and Mao the solar and lunar deities so frequently depicted on Kaniṣka I's coins. Kaniṣka II and III are not associated with these deities on their coins, nor is there any evidence of their adherence to Buddhism. The king is shown wearing a tight tunic, a skirt held by a belt at the waist, trousers under the skirt and a cloak thrown over his shoulder. The portraits of Kaniṣka I on his coins show him wearing the same garments, whereas Kaniṣka II and III are depicted on their coins wearing either plate mail armour or an overcoat. Furthermore, as stated above, the Buddhist images on the reliquary are closely related to the coins and Mathuran sculptures of Kaniṣka I's reign. The attempts reported by Dobbins to attribute the reliquary to a king Kaniṣka (II) who ruled during the reign of Huviṣka are based on a misinterpretation of the Āra inscription and are therefore discreditable.

It is interesting to note the further evidence provided by Kaniṣka's reliquary of the nature of his religious beliefs. The main image on the reliquary is the seated image of Śākyamuni making the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*) on its lid. The image wears a lotus petal halo and is seated in the centre of a lotus pattern on the lid. Worshipping the image to left and right are standing images, making the gesture (*anjalimudrā*) of worship of Indra and Brahmā. The secondary image is on the side of the reliquary and shows the king holding a floral tribute attended by Mithra and Mao. The juxtaposition of these two triads Buddha, Indra and Brahmā and Kaniṣka, Mithra and Mao suggests something about Kaniṣka's view of his own role as a divine being. The sides of the lid are decorated with a frieze of geese, and the sides of the pot with the Kaniṣka image and attendants mentioned and an undulating garland borne by puti (protes). On the loops of the garland are three meditating seated images of the Śākyamuni, one of which is worshipped (*anjalimudrā*) by half figures of Indra and Brahmā also on the loops, another is unattended and the third is attended by an unidentified image who wears a halo and extends one arm towards the Buddha. Dobbins (1968, 1)

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suggested that it is Vajrapāṇi, but the figure wears a headress, ear-rings and bracelets and is holding a small round object not a *vajra* (thunderbolt), in its left hand, which does not conform with his normal iconography. The halo however does make it clear that a divine person is intended. In view of the association of it with a Buddha image, this limits its identity to either a Hindu deity or a Bodhisattva. The iconography of the image does not conform with the artists conception of Indra or Brahmā, the two Hindu deities normally associated with the Buddha, therefore a Bodhisattva is more likely. If the round object in the figure's hand is intended to represent a water bottle perhas it could be identified as Maitreya, as no other Bodhisattva of this period is normally shown holding a small round object in his hand.

Bimaran Casket

The dating of the Bimaran Casket is less straightforward. It is uninscribed and its decorations do not include any royal images, When found it was contained inside a stone pot which bore a dedicatory inscription. The inscription contains no references to dates or known individuals and the decorations on the pot are geometric. The only relatively datable objects associated with the reliquary and pot were four "bronze" coins. The coins have been previously attributed to Azes I or II, but are now generally considered to be posthumous imitations of coins of Azes II. The coins bear the name Azes, but have inscriptions, types and control marks not found on the regular issues of either Azes I or II. Coins of this type could have been issued from the end of the reign of Azes II up to the beginning of Vima Kadphises' but there is no absolute evidence available at present to locate them precisely within that time span. Furthermore none of the coins were found within the reliquary or the pot containg it, and it cannot therefore be claimed that there is any chronological relationship between them. It is only possible to say that the stupa's relic chamber was closed later than the reign of Azes II.

The reliquary can therefore only be dated by the epigraphy of the pot's inscription or by an analysis of its artistic content. The epigraphy is typical of the Kuṣāṇa period and cannot be more precisely dated. It has been shown above that there is a close relationship between the image of Śākyamuni on the casket and those on Kaniṣka's coins, and perhaps therefore the reliquary could be dated to the same period as the coins. The lotus design on its base also links it with Kaniṣka's reliquary.

The iconography of the Bimaran reliquary is also analogous to the Kaniṣkan reliquary in that it shows two groups of images representing Śākyamuni making the gesture of reassurance being worshipped by Indra and Brahmā making the gesture of worship (*anjalimudrā*). A fourth image making the gesture of worship is also presented on the casket with the two representations separating the two groups. A positive identification of this image has not previously been made, but there are several features which suggest an identification. The figure wears

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a halo and its stance is the same as that of the Śākyamuni images on the casket, it must therefore be considered to represent a divine being. It does not have any of the attributes of the Hindu deities normally associated with the Buddha and is therefore probably a Bodhisattva. The image is wearing the *dhoti dupattā* normally worn by a Bodhisattva. It is also adorned with necklace, armlets, bracelets and ear-rings. Its hair is dressed in a top knot, but is worn long over the ears. The only Bodhisattva who is regularly shown during the Kuṣāṇa period with all these features is Maitreya. The only aspect of Maitreya's iconography which is omitted is his water flask, but the gesture being made prevents its being held, in the same way that Gāndhāra images of Maitreya teaching also omit this attribute (Rosenfield 1967 pl. 100). The worshipping gesture of this figure is unusual if it is to be identified as the Bodhisattva Maitreya, but it should be kept in mind that this image was made during the formative stages of Buddhist figurative iconography. The representation of Maitreya in such a context is certainly not in conflict with the religious concepts current at the time of its creation, as the coins now clearly show.

Appendix II

Coin Images wrongly identified as the Buddha

In the past, four coin types from northern India have been suggested as depicting a seated Buddha image. Three of these show a seated king, the fourth a seated goddess. The seated kings who have been wrongly identified as the Buddha are the Scythians Maues and Azes II and the Kuṣāṇa Kujula Kadphises. The Maues' coin (V. Gardner 1886 pl. XVII no. 5) show the king seated on a cushion holding a sword with both hands in his lap, his head is turned to the left and is diademed. The Azes' coin (v. Rosenfield 1967, pl. XIV no. 271 shows the same composition as Maues' coin, except the king's right arm is stretched out holding a whip in the hand. Kujula's coin (v. Rosenfield 1967 pl. I no. 6) shows the king seated cross-legged without throne or cushion. His left hand is on his hip and his right is raised holding a flower shaped object. It is not possible to tell which way his head is facing, but it is surmounted by a conical royal cap as on Kujula's "curule chair" type coin (Rosenfield 1967 pl. no. 4). The regalia present in all these images make certain their identification as the king issuing the coin and not the Buddha. The fourth coin thought to portray the Buddha was a Ujjain coin published by Coomaraswamy (1927). In fact the figure in this coin is a representation of a female deity (recognisable by her breasts) who is seated on a lotus and therefore might be identified as Lakṣmi.

There are no other ancient coins apart from the Kaniṣka coins described here which have been identified as depicting Buddhist images.

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Appendix III

A Modern Concoction

I have recently examined a photograph (courtesy of Pror. K.D. Bajpai and Mrs. S. Sharma) of a gold coin which purports to show on its reverse a standing facing figure of Śākyamuni Buddha without an *uṣṇīṣa* and holding in his hand a begging bowl (?) and on its obverse the standing figure of the Kuṣana king Kaniṣka wearing a crown with three triangular projections and holding in his raised hand a trident and a string of beads (prayer beads). This object is not a coin of Kaniṣka, but a modern forger's attempt to imitate the Kaniṣka Buddha coin in the British Museum (one IA1). The forger was working from the photograph of this coin in the British Museum Catalogue (Gardner 1886), but because he did not understand the significance of what he saw the forger has made several mistakes of detail. On the obverse he has misdrawn Kaniṣka's crown, mistaken his sceptre for a trident, and his cloak end for a string of beads, and he has omitted the first A from Kaniṣka's name (he has included it as an extra projection in the crown !). On the reverse he has mistaken the Buddha's raised hand, which is spread out to make the gesture of reassurance, for a begging bowl and has omitted the *uṣṇīsa* on his head. (I understand that an article on this object by Prof Bajpai is at press awaiting publication in the next volume of the JNSI).

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4

INTERPRETING NARRATIVE ART: A GĀNDHĀRAN EXAMPLE[1]

JOAN A. RADUCHA

The idea of recording events, historic or mythic, in pictorial form was prevalent throughout the ancient world.[2] Cultural norms determined which events would be recorded and artistic conventions prescribed the manner of portraying the essential elements of time, place and action. Beginning around the second *c.* B.C., South Asia gave birth to a tradition of narrative stone sculpture. This tradition was primarily Buddhist. The Gāndhāran school was the most prolific generator of narrative sculptures. The life of the Buddha was depicted as a clear cycle of events, including copious details of major and minor events. *Jātaka* stories, though fewer in number than at the early sites of the Indian plains, were carved with an eye toward a logical, sequential unfolding of events. Numerous scenes of drinking, sexual play, music, revelry and fighting as well as religious processions and votive activities appear in panels adjacent to the specifically Buddhist narrative depictions. The broad range of subject matter depicted in Gāndhāran reliefs reveals the depth and breadth of religious attitudes. Correctly interpreted, the narrative sculptures form a unique and unrivalled source of religious documentation.

This paper is concerned with the problems associated with identifying and interpreting Gāndhāran narrative sculptures, particularly through the reliance on written texts. I will point out an iconographic pattern which consists of the Buddha and two weapon bearing attendants, that appears in several Gāndhāran narrative reliefs. The use of this pattern in the narrative context of sculptural reliefs is not exactly paralleled in written texts. While stories from a common pool of thought were represented in text and in stone, the particular imagery which was frozen varied according to functional purpose and the moment in the history of thought.

The Triad in Narrative Format

In the Buddhist narrative sculptures of Gāndhāra, it is common for an assemblage of figures to form a portion of the iconographic programme of various

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scenes. The majority of these figures are referred to as *devas*, *gandharvas* or any of several other names that refer to hosts of heavenly beings in written texts. These divinities hover about the Buddha, sometimes passively, other times actively, as he progresses through the stages of his most notable existence as the scion of the Śākya clan.

There are exceptions to the generalized characterizations of the attending deities. Śakra and Brahmā flank the Buddha in several standard compositions, forming a hieratic triad in the midst of the narrative format.[3] The story suggested is the gods entreating the Buddha to preach. In response to their pleas, the Buddha sets the wheel of *dharma* in motion; he preaches the first sermon at the Deer Park. In addition to the story-line, panels depicting the Buddha flanked by the ascetic Brahmā and the royal Śakra reinforce the supremacy of the Buddha over other deities and ways of life while recognizing the relative importance of the converted gods, and the older religious traditions.

In response to another aspect of Buddhist thought, a triad consisting of the Buddha and two Bodhisattvas is the subject of many relief sculptures which form an important portion of the environment of narrative scenes. In some of these triads, the exact identity of the Bodhisattva figures is uncertain since none of the significant attributes associated with a particular character are visible. The one Bodhisattva who is a somewhat consistent member of these triads is Maitreya, whose popularity in the Gāndhāran region is obvious from the amount of Maitreya imagery in stone as well as textual materials.[4] The visual pattern of the Buddha accompanied by two prominent attendants or co-divinities established a framework which various ideological representatives could fill.

Three stone fragments depicting portions of narrative scenes were recently uncovered in the Dir District of Pakistan.[5] Each contains a pair of figures who flank the seated Buddha (Fig. 15, 16, and 17). Stance and attributes of the flanking figures as well as a similar compositional format and theme of the scenes in which they appear distinguishes the pair as a deliberate iconographic entity. In one case both figures hold the *śakti*, (spear) (Fig. 15); in both other cases, each figure holds the *vajra* (thunderbolt) (Fig. 16 and 17). The flanking figures exhibit the demeanour of a pair of guardians or defenders. The venue of the scene being enacted is a mountainous or rocky region. The identification of these two characters who accompany the Buddha as well as the nature of their relationship to the Buddha and each other is dependent upon the correct interpretation of the scene being displayed and the Gāndhāran iconographic panorama of which they are a part.

The Pair of Spear Holders

Although it is only a fragment of a complete narrative panel, a relief recently uncovered at the site of Andandheri, Dt. Dir, Pakistan, can be divided into two compositional units (Fig. 15).[6] The first unit is made up of the three figures at the centre of the panel that is dominated by a large, seated Buddha who holds his

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right hand in the *abhaya mudrā*, the gesture of reassurance, while his left hand holds the lappet of his outer garment. These companion hand gestures are typical of independent images of the Buddha as well as of Buddha figures in a variety of narrative scenes. The gestures are appropriate to a receptive, inviting master. The halo around his head is set amidst a series of curved lines whose exact character is unclear due to the poor condition of the stone. The even spacing of the lines and their apparent curves suggest the well-known tree that often serves as a backdrop. The low pedestal on which the Buddha sits is draped with a cloth. To the right of the pedestal, just below the kneeling figure's head, is a boulder, suggesting a hilly or mountainous region. The Buddha figure straddles a fine line between narrative participant and worshippable image.

The male figures seated in midair on either side of the Buddha are simply clad in an Indian *dhoti* with no upper garment. Although somewhat defaced, the long slender nature of the handheld objects suggests a spear or lance. The free hand of each flanking figure rests on his thigh while the elbow is held akimbo. The peculiar seated position with splayed feet appears to be a stylized version of the so-called European pose that was prevalent throughout the arts of the Kuṣāṇā Empire.[7] Once thought to be an identifying characteristic of Maitreya, this posture, which is defined by the figure sitting upon a seat, stool, or platform of some sort with the feet extending down in front, actually had a more widespread use.[8] There are many sculptural examples of the Buddha depicted in this posture; several royal portraits of the Kuṣāṇā rulers also utilize this pose. In several Gāndhāran tableaus which display a complex world of the Buddha, numerous Bodhisattvas, and acolytes, one or several of the subsidiary figures assume this posture.[9]

In the archaeological report of the excavation of Andandheri, Prof. A. H. Dani identifies this sculpture as a portion of a *Māra Vijaya* (Defeat of Māra) panel.[10] In this case, the flanking figures would be weapon wielding members of Māra's army, which threatens the Buddha as he seeks enlightenment. This identification seems most unlikely. The Buddha's right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* rather than the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* that the Gāndhāran atelier utilized to identify this event. The Mathura and the Gāndhāran schools used the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* to evoke the image of the earth bearing witness to the Buddha's claim to the seat of enlightenment. Only the Amarāvatī school regularly used the *abhaya mudrā* for the defeat as well as other episodes that had more specific *mudrā* possibilities.

The second compositional unit is made up of the figures who approach the central triad of figures. The kneeling figure has long hair which falls in a series of clusters recalling the twisted locks typical of ascetics. In addition, his rib cage is visible and the water vessel associated with ascetics rests on the ground under his right elbow. The bearded visage of his standing companion, whose torso also reveals a rib cage close to the surface, is a common characteristic of an elder ascetic. Overall, the appearance of both figures is in agreement with the typical portrayal of ascetics, a form not usually adopted by Māra or his horde. There is no visual indication that the story of Māra is represented in this panel.

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It is more likely that we are viewing a scene from one of two story cycles that revolve around a group of ascetics who first doubt but finally, accept the superiority of the Buddha and his middle path. One story cycle revolves around the visit of the Pārāyaṇas, sixteen brahman ascetics who question the Buddha and are so delighted by his responses that they carry on their religious lives in the wake of the Buddha. The Buddha is said to reside in the *pāsāṇaka cetiya* rock temple at the time of this episode.[11] As pointed out above, there are boulders on either side of the Buddha's seat. The Gāndhāran school produced several sculptures that can be definitively allied to this story, some more elaborate than others.[12]

The second story cycle which includes an encounter with a group of ascetics describes various events in the conversion of the Uruvilvā Kāśyapas.[13] In the course of this cycle, the Buddha displays his prowess via several magical acts including spending a night inside a hut wherein a malevolent *nāga* dwells. The outline of the hut is similar in contour to the rendition of the rock-cut cave in Gāndhāran reliefs. The overlap of compositional and content details among separate narrative events compounds the difficulties endemic to the reconstruction of the original intent of the panels.

The Andandheri relief is too broken to provide a definitive identification for the story-line but comparisons with other reliefs suggest that the Pārāyaṇa ascetics' visit was intended. The object posture of the ascetics and the rocky environment are indicators in favour of the Pārāyaṇa identification; the pose of the Buddha is neutral, neither confirming nor denying the particular episode; the spear toting guardian pair is not mentioned in written accounts, and so at first appears to be a neutral or negative indicator of the Pārāyaṇa legend. However, if we consider the pair in conjunction with a figure who appears in the lush background of a Pārāyaṇa stele from Takht-i-Bahi, the Pārāyaṇa legend reasserts itself as a possible theme of the Andandheri relief and an identity for the two guardians is suggested.[14] Furthermore, none of the specific iconography associated with the Kāśyapa legend is present.

The Takht-i-Bahi rendering of the Pārāyaṇa ascetic story includes a figure in the background to the Buddha's left. This figure holds a spear, is seated in the European pose, and wears a suit of armour and a typical Indian turban. This figure is usually identified as Pāñchika, and there seems to be no reason to doubt this supposition.[15] Pāñchika represents several important functions including protector, warrior, and leader of a class of semi-divine beings. These functions hint at the reason for including this figure who is peripheral to the mainstream of the narrative. The approaching ascetics do not physically threaten the Buddha, but they certainly aim to challenge his authority. The Buddha, as any reigning monarch, has his guardians accompanying him, in order to reinforce his elevated position and offer at least the ritual appearance of protection.

The reasons for duplicating a single deity, as the Andandheri relief seems to have done, are uncertain (Fig. 15). Perhaps it is an adaptation of the idea repeatedly encountered in written texts wherein a particular *deva* is identified and

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described as the head of a class of similar divinities, as though the large following lent credence to the very existence of the numerous realms of the gods and the numbers offered status to the head deity.[16] Another view of the duplication arises from the nature of the artistic process. Over a distance of time and space, there may have been a visual reduction of a specific pattern wherein two separate attendant deities had their characters reduced from particular entities to their more essential function as guardians thus rendering the specific differences in attribute as meaningless.

The Pair of Thunderbolt Holders

There are two very similar reliefs from the site of Chatpat, Dt. Dir, Pakistan (Fig. 16 and 17).[17] The first shows a Buddha figure seated with his somewhat damaged right hand in *abhaya mudrā*. With his left hand, he holds up the end of his garment. The cave within which he sits has profiled lion heads at the corners of the base. The depiction of animal heads at the base of his seat is a convention which is indicative of a somewhat remote setting. Trees emerging from the outer rocky protuberances are another indication of the natural setting in which the scene is set. A community of ascetics approach from both sides. The varying ages of the ascetic figures are clearly marked by the presence or absence of facial hair and the musculature of the body thus describing the typical system of master and disciple in a community of ascetics. The abject pose of the most forward ascetic on either side is strongly reminiscent of the attitude assumed by the ascetic in the Andandheri relief (Fig. 15).

The story-line suggested by the figural components points toward the visit of the Pārāyaṇa ascetics, although it is not certain that the prescribed sixteen ascetics were all carved since only a portion of the relief remains. One suggestion made in the excavation report regarding this panel is that this scene may represent the visit of Indra (Śakra). The second suggestion of the excavation report is that this may indicate the approach of monks.[18] The overlapping characteristics of the visit of Śakra and of the Pārāyaṇa ascetics in Gāndhāran reliefs has been noticed by scholars for a long time. However, the visit of Śakra has a number of standard essential iconographic markers such as the presence of Śakra himself, and the harpist Pañcāsikha neither of which appear in the Chatpat relief. Thus, the identification of this relief with the Śakra legend is unfounded.

The figures flanking the upper portion of the cave hold the *vajra* (thunderbolt) (Fig. 16). The figure on the Buddha's right wears only a short loin cloth, whereas the figure on the left wears ān Indian *dhoti* extending to the knee, as well as a cloth draped over his left shoulder. The hand holding the weapon is raised whereas the other hand and arm are relaxed. The seated position of both figures allows one foot to rest on the rock while the other extends towards the back of an abject ascetic beneath. The figure on the left turns toward the approaching ascetics. These *vajra*-bearers assume a participatory role in the legend—they are not stagnant icons but rather watch the protagonists of the narrative wit h a guarded

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view. In fact, their positions and their roles are strikingly similar to those of their counterparts in the Andandheri reliefs, i.e. to guard the Buddha as is the right of any world monarch. Only their weapons differ significantly.

The second Chatpat relief is in the storeroom of the Chakdara Museum and was not published in the excavation report (Fig. 17). Here too, as in the previous example, the rounded curve of the stone indicates its original position at the base of a small votive *stūpa*. The viewers would have followed the progress of the narrative line as they circumambulated the small monument. The details of this relief are similar to the first Chatpat relief (Fig. 18). Noteworthy differences include the Buddha's *mudra* which is here the *dhyāna mūdrā* (meditation gesture). The *dhyāna mudra* and the *abhaya mudra* are alternative gestures in several narrative events popular in Gāndhāra, including the gods entreating the Buddha to preach and the Buddha among his monks. The two gestures may indicate different moments, or emphasize a different aspect of the Buddha. An undulating design underscores and unifies the compositional unit represented by the Buddha and two flanking figures. This undulating line, combined with the cavernous structure surrounding the Buddha points towards a rocky setting for the action of this panel. For the third time, it seems appropriate to recognize the visit of the sixteen Pārāyaṇas. The slight iconographic differences testify to a period when the iconography of many narratives was not prescribed except for broad conceptualizations.

The *vajra*-bearers face the Buddha, as though noting his meditative state. Although held high, the weapons are in the position typical of a *dvarapala* (gate keeper) rather than in that of an active combatant. This pair of figures belong to the same category as the Andandheri (Fig. 15) and first Chatpat pairs (Fig. 16). There is a tendency toward symmetry in Gāndhāran art. This may help explain the fact that two guardians accompany the Buddha. However symmetry alone is not a sufficient explanation. How would this explain the alternation between *thunderbolt* and *spear*? Fortunately, the rich materials from Gāndhāra provide other sculptural examples with pairs of guardians flanking the Buddha, which expand the horizons in which a plausible explanation for the iconography of the Dir panels can be sought.

Thunderbolt and Spear Holding Pairs

A small fragment, now in the British Museum, is made of a brownish schist, usually associated with the Swat Region (Fig. 19).[19] The Buddha is seated and holds his right hand in *abhaya mudrā* while the left hand holds the lappet of his garment, a standard seated position among Gāndhāran images of the Buddha. Unlike two of the three preceding sculptures, the Buddha is seated directly under a tree without a cave-like structure about him. However, the surface underneath the Buddhist and his companions represents a series of boulders thus determining the mountainous venue of the episode.

The figure on the Buddha's right holds a *vajra* which rests on his left knee.

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while his other hand extends towards an unknown object at his right side. He wears only a brief loin cloth. The musculature is apparent across his broad chest. His visage is firm, accentuated by the beard and moustache. The figure on the Buddha's left holds a spear in his left hand while his right hand rests on his knee. The musculature of his chest and firm facial lines portrays an image of strength that matches his counterpart. The spear holder also wears a phrygian cap, not unknown among attendants of the Buddha. Elements of Scythic and Persian garb are frequently mixed with Indian dress in Gandhāran reliefs. The stance of both of these figures recalls the readiness to motion which the Andandheri and Chatpat figures share (Fig. 15-17). In the absence of any further details, it is impossible to suggest the narrative of which this fragment formed a part, but the theme of the Buddha associated with two weapon-bearing guardians in a rocky setting is confirmed.

The curious pairing of the thunderbolt and spear holders was associated with a particular compositional format of which several other examples are extant. The virtually identical format was applied to two distinct narrative situations, the visit of the sixteen Pārāyaṇa ascetics and the visit of Śakra (India).[20] An example which typifies the manner in which the pair was represented in a *visit of Śakra* panel, offers a basis for interpreting the iconography of the various pairs (Fig. 19 and 20).[21] The panel focuses on a large Buddha figure who sits within a stylized arch that is meant to convey a cave setting. Assorted animals appear in the uppermost register. A peacock at the top of the cave as well as a few four legged animals provide a meagre suggestion of the natural setting. The second register from the top, shows six devotees approaching the Buddha, three from either side which are virtually mirror images of each other. The figure closest to the Buddha holds his hands in the pose of adoration (*añjali mudrā*); the next figure holds a garland; the figure at the edge of the panel kneels on one knee with hands folded.

A pair of figures is seated on either side of the Buddha, immediately above the lowest register which holds the tableau that identifies the narrative intent of the slab (Fig. 20). To the Buddha's right, the figure holds a *vajra* in his right hand, while his left rests on his knee. He wears a cloth draped about his waist and covering most of his legs. The figure on the Buddha's left is more elaborately dressed. He wears an Indian turban, with a tunic and trousers reminiscent of Scythic garb. In his left hand, a spear is held in a relaxed vertical position, rather like a staff as much as a weapon. The poses of these figures is more static than that adopted by their counterparts in the British Museum fragment (Fig. 18), and their costumes more detailed. But an essential agreement of character is unmistakable. Several forms for a single character are an expression of the syncretistic nature of Gāndhāran art which developed its local iconography and style from a select blending of traditions from the east and west. The goddess Nanā, Vajrapāṇi, the companion of the Buddha, and Pānchika are three such characters whose different forms are well documented.[22]

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The tableau in the lowest register of this relief marks the scene as the Visit of Śakra; note the harpist (second figure from right) and the kneeling Śakra on the left, clearly identified by the circular shape of his head-dress. Of the elephants in the corners one must be Airavata, Śakra's mount while the other belongs to a member of his divine entourage. The Visit of Śakra is not retold in the biographical texts which describe in detail so many life events, such as the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, or *Buddhacharita*. The *Dīgha Nikāya* version of the Visit concentrates on the verbal exchange leading up to the conversion of Sakka (Skt. Śakra) and does not mention any guardian deities who attended the Buddha. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions the Visit only in the briefest form, so the lack of two specific deities in the text is not surprising.[23] The literary versions of the Visit episode lend no dogmatic identification to the pair of flanking figures.

Concentrating on the visual evidence, it is noteworthy that this same pair appear in several other reliefs depicting the Visit in the elaborate tableau style, wherein the Buddha dominates the panel from a centrally placed cave whose shape is smooth and formalized.[24] The background details, in such cases, are so numerous that the emphasis on decorative impact vies with the narrative intent. The pair do not appear in any of the simpler horizontally composed depictions of the Visit episode.[25] Thus the pair cannot be construed as essential to the narrative of the Visit. Rather, they represent an aspect of the religious world-view that was not incongruous with the panoramic vision of the Buddha's world as reflected in the elaborate versions of the Visit scene.

The three registers of the Visit scene indicate an attempt at portraying levels of existence : the worlds of beast, men and gods respectively from top to bottom (Fig. 19). This overlay of symbolism indicates a moment in the religious iconography when the narrative was superceded by an attempt to emphasize the various states of existence.[26] Many of the biographical texts are filled with reminders that the levels, other than the one inhabited by humanity, exist. If this symbolism was intentional, the two flanking companions may suggest a link between the world of men and gods.

The thunderbolt and spear holding pair carries over from the elaborate to some simpler versions of the ascetic tale. The British Museum fragment may be an expression of this narrative Fig. 18); two fragments in the Rome Museum surely are.[27] There are however examples of the Pārāyaṇa legend in which the pair is absent.[28] Coupled with the exclusion of a specific pair of companions in literary versions of this tale, the visual renderings suggest that the representation of this pair within the narrative context is an expression of a popular religious notion. The structure of the narrative framework allowed for the inclusion of a pair of guardian deities in several situations which might be construed as threatening to the Buddha.

Vajrapaṇi and Pañchika

A figure holding the thunderbolt, accompanying the Buddha, without the

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specific iconography of Śakra, is usually called Vajrapāṇi, he in whose hand is the *vajra*, Explanations of the various forms of his widespread depiction in narrative carvings from Gāndhāra, as well as of his origin and development, occupy a significant portion in the spectrum of studies on Gāndhāran art.[29] Most recent is an excellent study that relied primarily on written texts with references to visual renditions by Etienne Lamotte. According to Lamotte, the complexities of Vajrapāni's character stem from the fact that he is actually a series of personages who share the *vajra* as the main attribute. Lamotte points out that it is in the N-W regions where Vajrapāṇi enjoyed immense popularity and it is there that the Bodhisattva aspect of this conglomerate character comes to life.[30] The evidence suggests that the *vajra*-bearers in the Pārāyaṇa scenes (Fig. 16, 17) are an integral part of the Vajrapāṇi complex of characters.

The spear is associated with a deity, the Buddhist Pāñchika, who combines aspects of *yakṣa* Kubera, warrior Skanda-Kumaro, and the lord of prosperity, Pharro. Like Vajrapāṇi, Pāñchika had a particular appeal in the N-W region. The syncretic blend of deities from different religious traditions which Pāñchika represented in Buddhism assured his popularity.[31] He is not a frequent companion of the Buddha in narrative sculptures, but his consistent depiction in stone sculptures as a partner of Hāritī, or independently, testifies to his popular appeal.[32] The spear-holders of the reliefs discussed are an expression of the deity Pāñchika (Fig 15).

As I speculated above in the initial discussion of Fig. 15, 16, 17 the duplication of the single deity very likely represents an inconographic reduction. The specific, more popular of the two deities was duplicated to indicate a fulsome world-view in which classes of deities, sharing the same attribute, are the norm. At the same time, the function of a pair of divine guardians was emphasized to the detriment of the particular, perhaps forgotten (or unknown!) character of two individual, distinct deities. In this vein, it is useful to remember that in different texts which describe a deity coming to the aid of the Buddha in the same narrative context, Vajrapāṇi may be named as the deity in one and Pāñchika in another.[33] Thus, the two characters must have partaken of similar powers and duties in the minds of the religious community who accepted them. The association of Pāñchika and Vajrapāṇi penetrated the texts. Though the extant versions of the Pārāyaṇa story do not utilize these characters, the diverse sculptures that retained their characters indicate an acceptance of their pairing.

The separate intrusion of the divinities Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika into the narrative framework of sculptural representations is paralleled in the texts. In several versions of the Great Miracle of Śrāvasti, Vajrapāni and Pāñchika are called lords and generals of *yakṣa* hordes. They are active defenders of the Buddha leaving the strewing of garlands and acts of adoration to other *devas*, *nāgas* and *yakṣas*. Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika create havoc by manipulating the forces of nature, bringing wind, rain and fire to menace those who challenge the Buddha.[34]

The lesser divinities in Buddhist art of various periods have a tendency to

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represent or be affiliated with a particular power or function. The arrogant posture of Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika in the Dir reliefs, connotes their position as lord of a class of divinities. The weapons of the guardian pairs in the narrative panels are reminiscent of an ability to control natural forces. These powers harken back to the popular *yakṣa* cults.

This example of an emergence of *yakṣa* imagery shows the pervasive strength of elements of popular religious ideas in Buddhist art and iconography. Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika were independently popular members of the peripheral Buddhist pantheon in Gāndhāra. They were depicted as separate icons albeit on a lesser numerical scale than the formal Bodhisattvas. Rosenfield suggested that in Pāñchika many popular ideological threads of the wide Kushanshahr intertwined and thus his popularity, as a god of plenty and power, was assured; and that by a process of condensation, Pāñchika came to represent a variety of characteristics associated with *yakṣas*, including abundance, wealth and defence of the faith.[35] Independent sculptures and the testimony of the various Chinese travellers confirm the presence of Pāñchika, or a figure akin to him at the entrance to many shrines and monasteries. He is often represented opposite a female counterpart, the Buddhist Hārītī and not Vajrapāṇi in these large entryway images.

It seems likely that the representations of Pāñchika as a seated figure, either alone or with Hariti, strongly influenced the pose of the guardian pairs in our narrative sculptures. Seated figures of Vajrapāni are known though not prevalent. It is rare that the companion figures of the Buddha are seated in narrative sculptures except for the elaborate paradise scenes which are quite definitely removed from the immediate, mundane world in which Śākyamuni's life progressed. The fact that the two guardians are seated in the Buddha's presence suggests their participation in the world of the divine. To some extent, they may be viewed as intermediary deities, ready to defend the Buddha but at the same time approachable by the devout follower. This is a time honoured pattern in the religious life of South Asia.

The seated posture may indicate a Buddhist tradition involving the worship of Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika. Śakra and Brahmā, who are always standing, are reminiscent of a religion that ostensibly has been superceded. Their presence is usuallp marked by a general attitude of adoration, which they direct towards the Buddha; their hands clasped in *añjali mudrā*, Śakra and Brahmā do not command votive attention. It is understandable that guardians of the Buddha should be drawn from a class of divinities who were themselves deemed worshippable.

I have assumed a predominately Indian interpretation for the two guardian figures. Their representation must be viewed in the context of an art that is basically Indian, specifically Buddhist in ideology, with a demonstrable classical influence on formal aspects. In the syncretic atmosphere within which Gāndhāran art flourished, one can hardly ignore the Zeus-Jupiter background of Vajrapāṇi's vishalization. The spear held by Pāñchika clearly alternates with a staff and orb in some images that lean toward Pharro and perhaps Poseidan-Neptune and his trident is not far afield. Soper in a series of three articles analyzed the compo-

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sition of the Buddha in cave setting with comparable Mithraic steles.[36] Mithra in a cave, accompanied by two companions, who in some accounts act as his defenders, suggests an iconographic and ideological echo for our guardian pair.[37]

The fundamental Buddhis predisposition to accept the notion of guardians and specifically to accept the characters of Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika in these roles is of essential importance. We have very little evidence to enable us to understand the roles of subsidiary or lesser divinities in Buddhist practice in the period represented by Gāndhāran art. The venue of narrative art was receptive to the tentative statement which Vajrapāṇi's and Pāñchika's presence makes. Subsidiary deities were important to the Buddhist community. They fulfilled the need for a responsive deity to whom petitions could be brought with an expectation of being met. By placing Vajrapāṇi and Pāñchika in the position of guarding and defending the Buddha, their strength and power, their relative importance to Buddhism, and their accessibility were simultaneously established.

NOTES

1. The research for this article was carried out under a Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation Grant in 1979. I wish to express my thanks to the Director of the Dir Museum, Aurang Zeb Khan, for his cooperation in studying and photographing his collections (Plates 1-3). I also wish to express my gratitude to the British Museum and particularly Dr. Vladimir Zwalf, who was very generous in the time he allotted to me to study and photograph the Gāndhāran Collection, which includes Fig. 18, 19, and 20 of this article.
2. The narrative art of the ancient world was the subject of a symposium held almost 30 years ago at the 57th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America. The papers presented are published as :

   "Narration in Ancient Art," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 61 (January, 1957), 43-92.
3. For some examples see :

   Harold Ingholt, *Gāndhāran Art in Pakistan* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1957), figs. 70-73. Hereafter, this book is referred to as *GAP* in our notes. Śakra is the name used in most Buddhist texts to refer to Indra.

   Foucher suggested four stages for the iconographic pattern of relief decorations. He extended the movement of type from the earliest stone through the stucco phases as follows :

   1. definitely narrative: 2. grouping with a faint recollection of narration; 3. solitary statues; 4. small friezes wherein triads and rows of small figures predominate. All of the sculptures upon which this paper focuses fit into the first two categories. See, "The Decoration of the Stuccoed Stupas" by A. Foucher in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 7.
4. Some of the numerous Maitreya images are depicted in :

   Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 288-309; see Rosenfield's discussion on Bodhisattva Mahāsattva, which is the identity he suggests for many of the Bodhisattvas who cannot be specifically identified.

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John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1967), pp. 238-44. Hereafter this is referred to as *DAK*.

5. The excavations are reported in : *Ancient Pakistan*, 4 (1968-69).
6. This 14" × 9½" blue schist sculpture was an unstratified find. For more details regarding the excavations see :

   Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Excavation at Andandheri," *Ancient Pakistan*, 4 (1968-69), pp. 33-64; Plate 15 is our Fig. 15.
7. For a discussion of various uses of the European pose under the Kushans, see Rosenfield, *DAK*, pp. 186-88.
8. M.G. Bourda, "Quelques Reflexion sur la pose assise a l'Europeenne dans L'Art Bouddhique," *Artibus Asiae* 12 (1949), pp. 302-313; numerous examples of figures of Buddha Śākyamuni in this pose are pointed out.
9. Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 255-57.
10. Dani, "Excavation at Andandheri," p. 56.
11. Alfred Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandōhra* (Paris: Leroux and Imprimerie Nationale, Vol. 2, 1917), pp. 255-56. Hereafter referred to as *AGB*.
12. Ingholt, *GAP*, fig. 106 is an elaborate version; figs. 107-108 are simpler examples.
13. Foucher, *AGB*, 1, (1915), pp. 443-53 and figs. 224-26.
14. Ingholt, *GAP*, fig. 106.
15. Foucher, *AGB*, 2, pp. 255-56.
16. One example of this descriptive tendency is the version of the Great Departure in the *Lalitavistara* wherein the lord of the Gāndharvas is accompanied by innumerable hundreds of thousands of millions of followers, Virūḍhaka is attended by tens of millions of hundreds of thousands of Kuṁbhāṇḍakas, Virūpāksha by a comparable number of Nāgas and Kuvera by Yakṣas and Śakra by the Trāyatriṁśa gods, see.

    Lalitavistara, edited by P.L. Vaidya (Darbhanga : The Mithila Institute, 1958), p. 157.
17. Ahmad Hasan Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat," *Ancient Pakistan*, 4 (1968-69), pp. 65-102.

    Our Fig. 16 is Dani's plate 60a; it measures 15½ × 5.6 inches and is made of blue schist.

    Our Fig. 17 is in the storeroom of the Chakdara Museum and was not published in Dani's report. It was found at the site of Chatpat according to Museum records.
18. Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat," p. 98.
19. This fragment measures about 4½" in height. Its identification number is, British Museum, 1965, 8-1, 5.
20. Foucher, *AGB*, 2, pp. 255-56 :

    "La scéne était évidemment concue sur le modèle de celle d'e la visite d Indra (fig. 246) : mais ici les comparses qui s'approchent du Buddha, assis dans le même paysage de rochers hante d'animaux de la djangle et de divinités gardiennes, sont des ascetes brahmaniques, tous parfaitement au signalement que nous venons de donner."
21. This panel is in the British Museum. It is reproduced in Ingholt, *GAP*,

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XVIII, 3. Other examples of this format are reproduced in *GAP*, figs. 130, 131, 133, 134.

22. For Vajrapāni see : Foucher, AGB, 2, pp. 48-64; for Pāñchika, see the same volume, pp. 102-130; for Nanā, see ; B.N. Mukherjee, *Nanā On Lion* (Calcutta: the Asiatic Society, 1969).
23. The "Sakkapañha Suttanta" has been translated in : T.W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha II, pp. 299ff. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Nei (Cambridge, 1886), p. 394.
24. See fn. 21.
25. For eg. see, Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 129, 132.
26. There are many reliefs which are divided vertically into a series of registers. Frequently, the topmost register contains an alms bowl, the turban or Maitreya, all representing a heavenly abode while scenes of Śākyamuni's life on earth are in the registers beneath. For example, see Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 168 and 230.
27. I was unable to photograph two sculptures in the Rome Oriental Museum, although I was granted permission to study the pieces. Both were stray finds in the Swat region. Each shows the Buddha, on a rocky setting with two companions, one holding a spear, the other a thunderbolt. Their pose is similar to that of the figures in our Plate 4. The inventory no. are 4795 and 4772.
28. Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 107-108.
29. A partial list of these works include, Albert Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, rev. and enlarged by Jas. Burgess (rpt. ed. New Delhi : S. Chand & Co., 1972), orig. 1901, pp. 87-94, which introduces the problem of identifying the character and separating the notions of Vajrapāṇi, from Śakra, Devadatta, Māra, etc.; J. Ph. Vogel, "Le Vajrapāṇi Greco-Bouddhique," *Bulletinde l'Ecole francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, IX (1909), pp. 523-27, discusses the nature of Vajrapāṇi, whether he is or is not a Bodhisattva, Foucher, *AGB*, I, pp. 48-64 describes the different forms, or types of figures and compares them with their Greek counterparts as well as discussing the basic character of Vajrapāṇi; Sten Konow, "Note on Vajrapāṇi-Indra," *Acta Orientalia*, 8 (1930), pp. 311-17 reviews arguments and hypothesizes that a deity may arise from the epithet of an older god; Ananda K. Coomaraswany, *Yakṣas* (New Delhi : Munshi Ram Manoharlal, 1971), orig. publ. 1928, pp. 30-31 emphasizes the pre-Buddhist origins of Vajrapāṇi as a *yakṣa*.
30. Etienne Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," in *Melanges de Sinologie offerts a Paul Demieville*, (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 113-159.
31. Foucher, *AGB*, 2, pp. 102-130 describes the various appearances of Pāñchika-Kubera and the syncretic nature of this deity.
32. For a sample of images see :

    Ingholt, *GAP*, figs. 338-39; 342-45;

    Rosenfied, *DAK*, figs. 61, 62 and 75;

    At the site of Jaulian, Taxila, a male spear holder and Hariti flank the Buddha on one of the small stupas which were covered witn stucco triads, Foucher, *MASI*, no. 7, plate.
33. Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," pp. 124-25.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-126; Lamotte cites various instances of the substitution with exact textual references.

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35. Rosenfield, *DAK*, pp. 245-49.
36. Alexander C. Soper, "Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gāndhāran Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 12 (1949), pp. 252-283 and 314-330; vol. 13 (1950), pp. 63-85.
37. H. Stuart Jones, "Mithraism," in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, vol. 8, pp. 752-59 provides a useful introductory overview. Mithra's companions, who appear in the steles of Mithra slaying the bull in a cave, strike fear and terror into Mithra's challengers.

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5

AJANTA'S CHRONOLOGY : CAVE 7's TWICE-BORN BUDDHA

WALTER M. SPINK

> Now, it is true, I am hewing an ax handle with an ax handle in my hand...Nevertheless, what I am able to say I have pur down here —Lu Chi.[1]

If Ajanta's total later development can be likened to a "grid" of events taking place in time and space, the specifics of the development of Cave 7 (with which we are here concerned) are of course located upon it, and can be read off. Every one of Cave 7's features was either concurrent with or (more usually) preceded or succeeded in time by other features in Cave 7 itself, and in the other caves at the site. This is self-evident. The *task* is to analyze this temporal relationship—to find good, or sufficient, evidence to locate each event in relation to every other. Sometimes this is easy—one cannot start the shrine of a cave until the porch has been penetrated; one may have to adjust a new cave's plan if an adjacent older cave's proximity demands it; one would not—or usually would not—paint a shrine until the image is finished, or decorate a wall before doing the ceiling above it. In a late architectural context, all sculptures and paintings, if carved from, or painted upon the walls, will necessarily be as late as their setting. In an early architectural context, on the other hand, we cannot be so sure: "events" may have occurred in some subsequent phase of work.

The positioning of every feature on our grid is ultimately an arbitrary process. Since none of the caves at the site is specifically dated, and since available epigraphs do not provide direct information about the course of the site's development, we must ultimately develop a chronology for the site by a process of trial and error, by seeing "what fits where" and by constantly arranging and rearranging the pieces of the puzzle until the parts lock satisfactorily into the whole. Ideally, in the end, one should be able to justify every decision—the placing of every point on the grid—by showing how each event contributes to the reasonableness of the overall pattern. Since Ajanta provides an absolute "embarras de richesses", with proper analytic techniques we should be able to come to quite firm conclusions about the *relative* position of every significant feature on our grid

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(or *Time Chart*), even if we may never know their absolute dates. Thus, if our charts's size, and this article's needs, made it feasible, we could, with a fair degree of precision, locate *every* motif at Ajanta upon such a full developmental continuum. The present study, however, is intentionally limited, and main Buddha images alone are so located. (See Time Chart : Fig. 38). The reader may find it useful to refer to them when I mention the various "early" and "late" features of the Cave 7 image group.

Although I am naturally very interested in how one can explain the curious character of the Cave 7 Buddha, the real point of the paper is to show that one can indeed "pick the site apart", and indeed must, if one is ever going to put it together again. Despite the fact that scholars do not yet agree whether Ajanta's later evolution took two centuries or two decades, the site, with its incredible variety of motifs, is perhaps the most precisely analyzable one in the world, in terms of its stylistic and iconographic development. Furthermore, Ajanta's tantalizing array of relevant inscriptions and related documentary evidence makes it possible to think that we will eventually be able to analyze these developments not just in "formal" terms, but with the important questions of "why", "when", "by whom" and "how" more and more the focus of our investigations and the guide to our conclusions. However, this is not to say that the daemon of Ajanta will yield up his secrets easily. Perhaps he has no intention of doing so at all, to those who do not attend him in the hills.

In my own ongoing analysis of Ajanta's later artistic development—the absolute dates for which have narrowed as the downfall of the Vakataka dynasty has accelerated in my mind—I now place all events between c. A.D. 462 and c. A.D. 480, the points which I feel most reasonably represented the beginning and end of active patronage at the site.[2] As I have pointed out elsewhere, these dates—useful as reference points—are necessarily approximations; a few years' margin of error must be allowed. However, if my present analysis of the political history of the times is correct, and if everything in Ajanta's later phase took place during the reign of Hariṣeṇa and his successor—a period of patronage which must have begun well after A.D. 458 (when Devasena was still reigning) and A.D. 486 (when Subandhu was already in power)—then this margin of error can hardly be more than two or three years at the most, at least in the early and late parts of the sequence. Toward the middle of the span, where events occur farther away from our fixed *termini post quem* and *ante quem* of A.D. 458 and A.D. 486 there might be a slightly greatly margin, since work at the site, always dependent upon the contemporary political and economic situation, obviously did not follow a fixed schedule. There were times when growth was particularly rapid, and times when a "recession" and even work stoppages occurred; but without dated inscriptions one could never specify exactly when such developmental stages occurred. Our present discussion—which involves only a few motifs in a single cave (i.e. Cave 7) —takes into account these vagaries of evolution, which we have sought to explain elsewhere.

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Time Chart (Fig. 38) on p. 105

The development of Vākāṭaka cave sites during the reign of King Hariṣeṇa (c. A.D. 460—c. 478) and of his successor (c. A.D. 478—c. 483). The Vākāṭaka dynasty collapsed in c. 483 A.D. Thicker lines suggest more intensive patronage. Broken lines refer to intrusive donations after the consistent phase of excavation and decoration was abandoned. The approximate date of the main image in each cave is indicated by an x; in the case of Ajanta Caves 7 and 11, the images were we worked after the Hiatus, so two x's are shown. We assume that the reader will understand that dates given throughout the paper represent, only what are, in my opinion, close approximations.

458	Devasena still ruling (Hisse Borāla inscription).
c. 460	Hariṣeṇa's accession.
c. 462	Ajanta's later phase begins.
c. 464	Burgeoning of courtly patronage.
c. 468	Riṣika "subjugates" Aśmaka (*vide* cave 17 inscription); consequent recession in patronage at Ajanta and Ghatotkacha.
c. 472	Hiatus begins, caused by Riṣika-Aśmaka conflict.
c. 475	Aśmaka gains control of region. Work beings again.
c. 477-478	Hariṣeṇa's death; weak successor's accession.
c. 480	Aśmaka preparing for war; support for site ends.
c. 482	Aśmaka and other feudatories attack Vākāṭakas.
c. 483	Vākāṭaka dynasty falls; Vākāṭaka heir flees to Māhismatī.
486	Mahārāja Subandhu ruling in Māhiṣmatī (Barwāni inscription).

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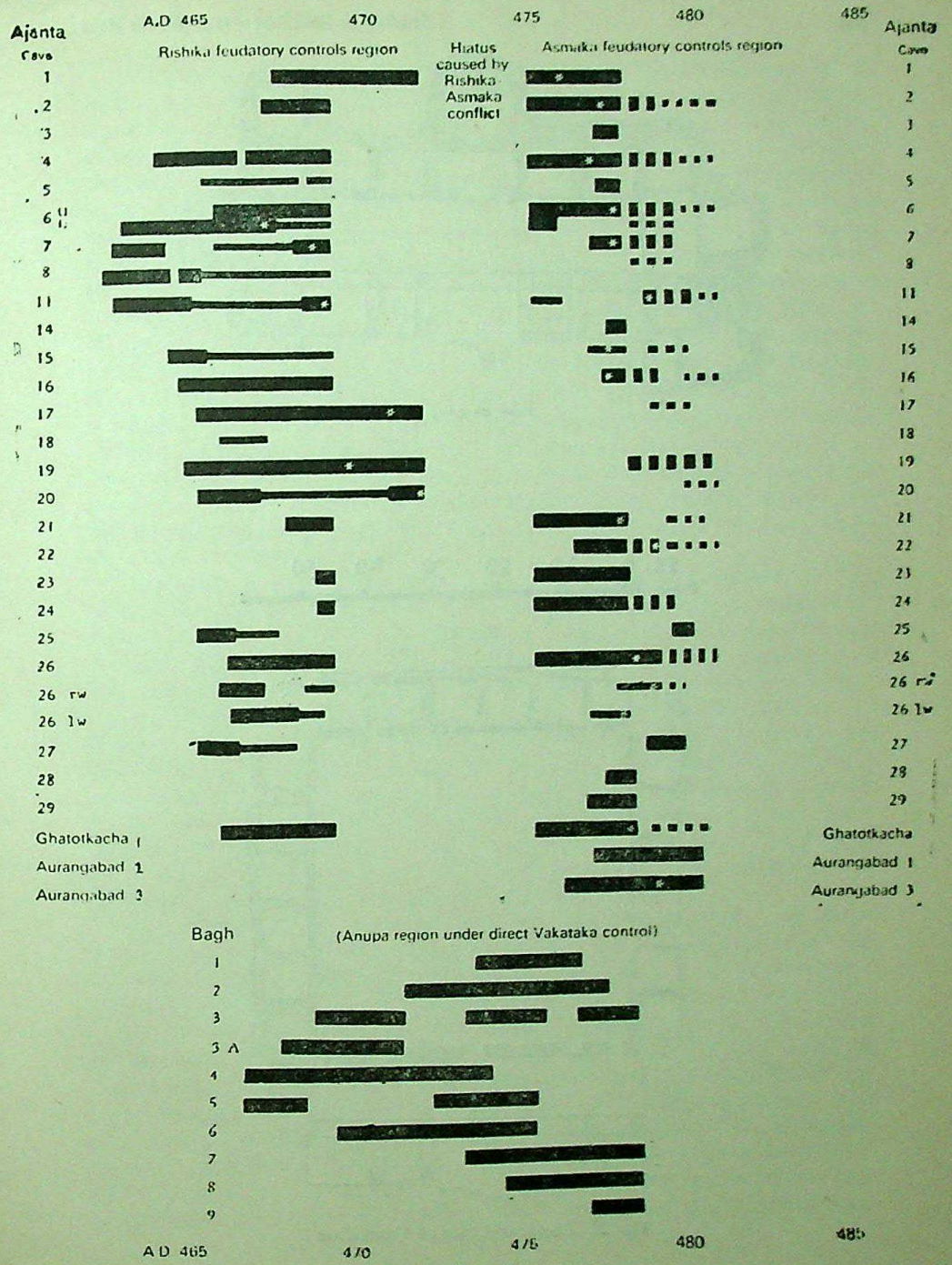

Fig. 38

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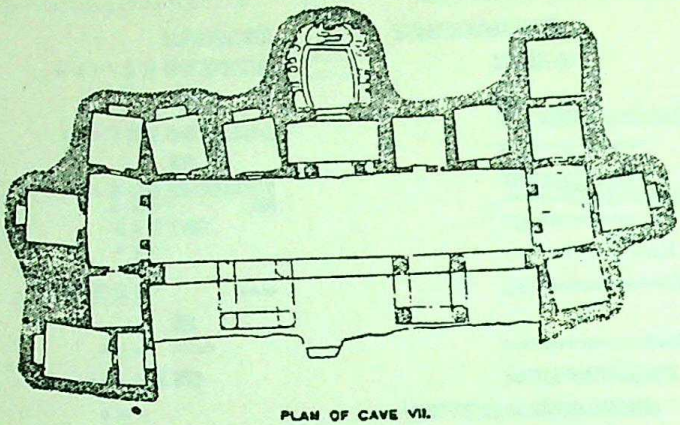

PLAN OF CAVE VII.

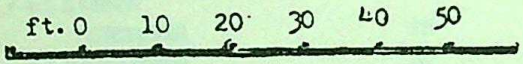

Fig. 21

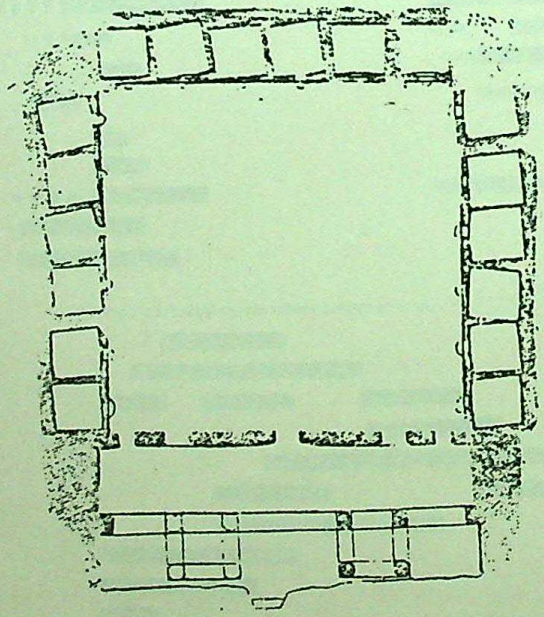

Fig. 22 Conjectural Plan of Ajanta Cave 7

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Considering Cave 7's development in relation to the development of the whole site—a long task which we will only summarize here—we can conclude that it was one of the very first excavations to have been undertaken. Almost immediately, however, patronage problems occurred, causing work on the cave's ambitious facade and porch to be abandoned. Then, if we are correct, no further work was done for a year or more. Later, in about A.D. 465 excavation began again, but the original grandiose plans for the cave—which was to have had a large interior hall—were drastically and surprisingly reduced. In its "revised" state, Cave 7 became little more than a huge porch, to which a shrine, shrine antechamber, and as many residence cells as possible, were added. (Fig. 21; cf. Fig. 22). This new work, done at a time when the supply of workmen at the site by no means matched the demand for their services, must have proceeded rather slowly and/or sporadically, because by A.D. 468, when the great majority of patrons at the site had to abandon their works-in-progress, Cave 7's shrine chamber was still quite unfinished. At this point, as we shall see, the cave's patron, loathe to see his work interrupted when the shrine was not even done, rushed the image to completion in an expedient but unconventional manner. He may well have dedicated the Buddha at this time, even though the cave as a whole was still in a very unfinished state.

During the next three or four years, work at the site was confined to four caves alone, namely Cave 17, Cave 19, and Cave 20, all the benefactions of the regional king, and Cave 1, almost certainly sponsored by his overlord, the Vākāṭaka emperor Hariṣeṇa.[3] Then, by about A.D. 472 work on these caves too was abandoned, when the stability of the region was disrupted by a conflict between Ṛiṣika and Aśmaka, the neighboring region, which was also feudatory to Hariṣeṇa. This caused what we have termed the *Hiatus* in work at the site; see *Time Chart*. It seems clear that Aśmaka triumphed in this dispute, and that as a consequence he took over control of Ajanta, which lay fairly close to their common border. The clash over, work at the site soon started up again, except on the caves (17, 19, and 20) which had been specifically identified with the Ṛiṣikan ruler, and on a few other caves—Cave 7 among them—which perhaps had been associated in some way too with the Ṛiṣikan establishment.[4]

Cave 7 (Fig. 23, 24) seems not to have been touched again until about A.D. 477, nearly a decade after its Buddha had been so summarily revealed. At this late date, perhaps with a new patron now responsible for it, an ambitious new program of work was begun. The Buddha image was greatly transformed, in a process of recutting, as was the interior of the shrine, and that of the shrine antechamber. Even the shrine doorway was re-worked, in order that an array of Buddha images could be added to it. Subsequent to these sculptural additions and transformations, and after two court cell complexes had been begun—they, like parts of the porch interior, were never to be finished—the whole cave was hastily plastered, probably in A.D. 478 or 479, during the "period of disruption" which began very shortly after Hariṣeṇa's death. Priority areas such as the shrine and shrine antechamber, and the porch ceiling and walls, were painted at this time,

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but the cave's decoration was never finished. Time was running out; by A.D. 480 when the political situation was already seriously eroded, no one cared at all about finishing such excavations in a beautiful way, and the dream that had been so compelling—the belief that such a site might well flourish "for as long as the moon and the sun continue"—was only too rapidly fading.[5]

If we want to find an analogy for Ajanta in modern "site development", the growth of a gold-rush town—from start to finish, with good fotunes and bad affecting it in between and with a desperate flush of refrigerator purchases at the end—would provide a fair one; although at Ajanta the rewards were, at least so people liked to say, more purely spiritual than material. They did not, however,—except in the site's few unhappy final years—press this point to extremity :

> "A man continues to enjoy himself in paradise as long as his memory is green in the world. One should (therefore) set up a memorial on the mountains... Why should not a monument be raised by those possessing wealth, desirous of mundane happiness as also of liberation ?"[6]

Cave 7's image is unique, for it is the only one at the site which combines features from two very distinct stages of carving. (Fig. 29) The Buddha image proper, and the throne base with its wheel, deer, and lions, were cut out about a decade earlier than the elaborate throneback motifs. All of the figures behind and on either side of the image, including the paired Bodhisattvas, the flying dwarfs, the six large standing Buddhas and all of the smaller carved and/or painted images in the shrine were also added in the later phase of work. Whatever lime-plaster and paint still remains on the image proper appears to belong to its "second" phase also—it is consistent with that on the surrounding figures. If the original image had been painted, which we suppose it was, completely refurbished when it was later transformed.

It seems reasonable to conclude that these striking additions to the much simpler earlier conception would never have been made later, unless the image had been improperly or inadequately finished in its earlier phase; there is evidence which shows that this was almost certainly the case. The anomalous floor plan of the shrine—which, judging from all other examples here and elsewhere, one would expect to have been a conventional rectangle and of larger dimensions—reflects the fact that the shrine chamber was only partly roughed out when work was interrupted, probably in A.D. 468. Similarly, as we shall see, a study of the thronebase provides further evidence to show that, just before this same interruption, a Buddha image was hastily carved at the rear of the still only partially scooped-out chamber. The shrine must have given a cavern-like impression at the time, before all of the large standing figures ranged to the left and right, as well as the equally late series of smaller seated Buddhas beneath them, were cut from the thick "lining', of remaining matrix in those areas. (See conjectural Fig. 30).

Cave 7's patronage seems to have been beset with problems from a very early point in its history. As we have already noted, the plans for what was to have

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been a much grander conception were abandoned in A.D. 464 quite possibly, and ironically, a victim of the site's progress, since this was the very time when so many new and prestigious patrons were already beginning to monopolize the site's workmen, and perhaps also to divert its funds to their own uses. With Varāhadeva's huge Cave 16, Upendragupta's elaborate Cave 17-18-19-20 complex, and Buddhabhadra's even more assertively impressive Cave 26 complex getting started at just this time, it is hardly surprising that Cave 7's planners found it necessary to limit their ambitions, and to drastically change (and truncate) their original conceptions. Instead of developing a large interior hall, upon which residence cells would open, they added such cells—a necessarily smaller number—to the porch, in quite unconventional positions: and at the very centre of the rear porch wall they included a shrine antechamber and shrine (Fig. 27). Such features provide us with useful clues regarding the date of these developments, since evidence from other caves at the site suggests that prior to A.D. 465 cells were never attached to cave porches, and viharas—still following their Hīnayāna prototypes rather closely—never were planned with shrines, even though both porch cells and shrines had often been added by the time such excavations were very far underway.

We might note that pillared complexes never appear at the porch ends until at least A.D. 465. Cave 7's very different examples, which may have been developed as a way to increase the amount of space upon which cells could open, may be the earliest of all at the site. (Figs. 25,26).

Cave 7's shrine antechamber's excavation seems to have progressed smoothly enough, with its pillared front and the shrine doorway (flanked by elaborate pilasters) both having been carefully carved, probably by A.D. 467, while work was progressing on most of the residence cells in the porch area as well. The shrine must have been penetrated by this same time, but before either the image at its rear or the proper definition of its walls and ceiling had been completed further work on the cave became fraught with difficulties. Perhaps, with all of the pressure being exerted on the site's still inadequate workforce by major new patrons at this time, the right person to carve the image could not be found: or perhaps, with monks waiting to be housed, the patron concentrated his efforts on the making of the cells which were now being crowded into every available space in the recently reduced conception. In any case, the early work on the shrine Buddha was carried out in a very different way than the well-ordered early work on the shrine antechamber, and proves that it was not only taken up somewhat later, but was done in a rush. Apparently, realizing that there was no chance to finish the shrine as he would have liked, the patron gave the order to carve the image as expeditiously as possible, at the rear end of the area which had so far been scooped out. The artist who did this, like his contemporary who was rushing the Cave 11 image to completion at about this same time[7], clearly depended upon Cave Lower 6's slightly earlier image as a model. The throne base arrangement of Cave 7's image is very similar to that of Cave Lower both in its overall format and in the general organization of the wheel, the two attending deer, and the corner lions; but, as in Cave 11's Image, these base motifs are less crowded together. What is particularly

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noteworthy is the anomalous placement of the corner lions (Fig. 33). A study of their disposition—most notably the positioning of their raised paws, which are cut from the same stretch of rock as the adjacent (but clearly later) seated Buddhas, makes it evident that the artist had no intention of cutting back the untrimmed side walls of the shrine at that point. Such further cutting would, of course, have been necessary if the sides of the throne base were going to be revealed, as one would expect them to have been. The manner in which the moulding at the very bottom of the throne base was continued (certainly at this same time) around to the left and right also shows that there was no intention whatsoever to carve the cavern like space out in the conventional way when this image was being carved. (Fig. 35, 36). It goes without saying that any thought of including a *pradakṣ iṇapātha*, like those in Cave Lower 6 and Cave 11, had been set aside by the time this throne base was laid out.

It is reasonable to assume that the Buddha image proper would itself have been finished by the time the base motifs were defined, and the way in which the rock at the outer part of the thighs was peremptorily trimmed away when the later standing Buddhas were carved next to the image strongly supports the assumption that they and the image proper belong to two distinct phases, with the main image, of course, the earlier (Fig. 34). Reconstructing in our mind's eye this Buddha's original appearance, it would appear that the present surface of the halo defined the original background against which the image was carved, and that this background then curved outward toward the points where the flying dwarfs overhead were later cut (Fig. 29). Thus the image itself must have been set within a kind of womb-like concavity, the edges of which continued along the left and right wall surfaces. If, leaving intact only the image proper, the halo and the throne base, one filled in all the spaces between and around the other figures in the shrine chamber with a continuous deep covering of cement, one would have an approximate reconstruction of the shrine as it must once have looked (Fig. 30). All the carving, including much of that of the ceiling, which lay behind the surface we have "reconstructed", was done about a decade later.[8] This includes not only the throne-back motifs but the Bodhisattvas and the tiny seated Buddhas next to the halo, all of which lie behind the plane defined by the surface of the Buddha's halo (Fig. 33). Originally, this halo may have been differently shaped and painted; its present character refers it to the late period.

Unlike all other shrine images at the site, this Buddha does not show *dharmacakra mudra*, but instead had the proper right hand (now broken) in the *abhaya* gesture, while the left appears to be holding the robe. Perhaps the anomalous character of the Cave 7 Buddha's hand positions can be explained by assuming that at the early date when this image was carved, the patron could exercise his own predilections more freely than later on, when conventions were more rigidly fixed; prior to the time of Ajanta's later phase, the *dharmacakra mudra* was very uncommon in India, so it would not be surprising to find one of Ajanta's very earliest images showing some other gesture.[9] Or perhaps the explanation is to be found in the exigencies of a situation where the sculptor had intended to put the

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hands in *dharmacakra* but had to adjust his plans because of a miscalculation, or because the stone broke at a crucial point.[10] We shall probably never know the reason, but we should note that the iconography is unusual, to say the least, since the wheel-and-deer below would be expected to refer specifically to an image showing the teaching gesture.

We also cannot know if the Buddha had been both finished and dedicated before work on the cave was interrupted in A.D. 468; given the haste with which it was carved—witnessed by the fact that the shrine chamber was not even properly cut out when the image was made, it seems likely that it was indeed rushed to completion, as expediently as possible. If so, the expected throne-back details were probably quickly rendered in paint, just to get them done in time, even though the conventional way to treat such throne-backs was to carve them. There are a few other instances at the site where haste, or lack of funds, or lack of proper workmen, appears to have justified a similar use of painted detail. Significantly, they are all intrusive images, done during the last years of hurried patronage at the site.[11]

We can be fairly sure that, *if* the Buddha was indeed painted in A.D. 468, it was the *only* part of the whole cave to be so treated. Although there is much very late plastering and painting in the cave, there is no evidence at all of any pre-Hiatus coat. In fact, quite the contrary: plans for the completion of certain very early decorative features had been *abandoned* in this early phase, well before they had reached a stage where they would have been plastered and painted; for instance, under the projecting front of the cave, five early ceiling medallions which had been laid out for carving still remain uncut, having been covered over by the plasterers in the cave's final years (Fig. 37). Work on the cells was also halted in 468; many of them, clearly started before this time, as the nature of their door fittings prove, were abandoned in mid-course, and not refurbished until after the Hiatus.[12] The fact that the walls of the shrine antechamber and the pilasters of the shrine doorway were later covered with intrusive images (Fig. 28) also suggests that these areas had not previously been painted, since later imagery at Ajanta, except in the most unusual circumstances, never covers over previously completed areas.[13]

The question must remain as to whether the Cave 7 image (as conceived in A.D. 468) had merely been rushed *toward* completion, or whether, before work stopped, it was complete enough to be dedicated. Human nature and the nature of patronage being what it is, it seems likely that it was indeed "finished", even if very hastily. Since the disturbance in patronage which affected so much of the site in about A.D. 468 (see Time Chart) appears to have been non-violent in nature, possibly having to do only with problems caused by new royal demands and changing work priorities, it seems reasonable to assume that Cave 7's donor did indeed manage to get his image into worship. The very fact that he ordered his workmen to scoop out the shrine in the surprising way we have described suggests that he had both the compulsion and the time to do this. The time allowed, or available, was clearly very limited; but at least the possibility of getting the image

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into worship was there, and this shows that the dramatic cut-back of patronage which affected so much of the site in A.D. 468, although compelling, was by no means cataclysmic.

The Cave 7 image, set in its unintentionally "cave-like" setting – almost as if it were some natural shrinelet in the surrounding hills—must have seemed a strange and sorry-looking affair to visitors of that day, who were already expecting such images to be housed in settings which resembled "the palaces of the lord of gods"—monuments "clothed in the brilliance of Indra's crown".[14] Thus it is hardly surprising that when work was taken up again on the largely unfinished cave after the Hiatus, plans included refurbishing this anomalous Buddha image too, in order to properly "complete" it. Of course, by this time as much as a decade had passed, and so such work greatly transformed the total conceptions, with results quite different from those which the original artists might once have intended.

Although some question may remain as to whether the revision of the Cave 7 Buddha was started in A.D. 477 or in 478,[15] it was certainly not started *before* this time, for many of the new added motifs are notably late in type. The incorporation of "pillars" into the throne-back designs (Fig. 32) is particularly noteworthy, since this feature is not found on thrones until at least A.D. 477, in the main shrine group in Cave Upper 6; even closer parallels may be seen in paintings, such as those on the rear wall of Cave 16, which can be dated to A.D. 478. It is interesting to note that the conventional vyālas in Cave 7's composition spring from the "pillars," as they do on the shrine doorway of Cave 1 and in other post-Hiatus contexts. The fact that they here have garlands festooned from both their mouth and forepaws links them with very late examples too, as does the presence of dwarfs both upon and underneath them. We should also note that the makaras at the upper corners of the throne-back have dwarfs emerging from their mouths: this is a feature never found before A.D. 470.

The Bodhisattvas, (Fig. 31) which are also among the added motifs, hold chauris in their proper right hands, as is usually the case at the site. It is not clear what attributes, if any, are in their left hands, while they lack other clearly identifying features too. In all these regards, but most particularly in their unusual positioning behind the throne, they recall the Bodhisattvas which appear behind the throne in Cave 16, the carving of which had been completed in A.D. 477.[16] This connection is hardly surprising, since because of its impressiveness and novelty as well as because of the importance of its donor, the Cave 16 image must have had considerable influence on this and other conceptions.[17]

The tiny seated Buddhas nearer to the halo are obviously space-fillers, but of a meaningful type, for patrons in this late period were more and more concerned with "merit-making" imagery. Such redundant Buddha images were never included within shrine Buddha compositions prior to A.D. 477 but are increasingly common thereafter.

The fat dwarfs, bearing offerings, which appear beyond the Bodhisattvas, were also carved in this late phase of work, and are not too dissimilar from those

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found in the influential Cave 1 image. It is clear that they are late in date, not only because their garments are "completed" by painting which continues onto the late ceiling surface, but (even more decisive as evidence) because the Buddha figures beneath them were obviously planned at the same time; had the dwarfs been cut in the pre-Hiatus phase of work in the shrine, part of the rock from which these Buddhas were cut would certainly have been removed, making the present arrangement impossible (Fig. 29).

These two standing Buddhas form part of a triad on either side of the shrine, each of which was cut from the matrix which had been left when the image was so hastily exposed in A.D. 468. The idea of including such standing Buddhas when the shrine was being re-worked in A.D. 477/478 was probably suggested by the presence of similar sculptured groups of six images in the shrine ante-chambers of Caves Upper 6 and Cave 4; these latter groups had probably both been begun in A.D. 477, while other such groups were carved in a number of shrines and shrinelets (as opposed to shrine antechambers) during the next few years; but they are never found in any of these contexts prior to A.D. 477.

By the point in time when the large standing Buddhas were added to Cave 7's shrine, artists and patrons at the site were becoming relatively unconcerned about the niceties of decorative detailing; the very fact that there was no attempt to "square up" the floor area in the shrine before carving the figures along the side walls is evidence of this, as is the rather rough manner in which the little seated Buddhas throughout the shrine interior (and in the shrine antechamber as well) are cut back into their respective areas (Fig. 35, 36). This same tendency, very uncharacteristic of the type of approach used in the first (albeit abortive) phase of work on the cave, is to be seen in the manner in which the throne base was crudely cut back along either side when the new standing Buddhas were added. It is revealing to note, too, that when this was done the sculptor felt constrained to add (even if quite ineptly) the revealed nubs of throne legs which so often appear at these points in very late throne representations. Such nubs never appear on thrones carved prior to A.D. 477, and are completely anachronistic here, given the character of the rest of the throne base, which was, of course, carved as much as a decade earlier (Figs. 33, 34).

The presence of great numbers of clearly intrusive Buddhas of various types and sizes elsewhere in this shrine certainly shows that work in the area continued into the period of disruption, even if it had been started in A.D. 477, as a study of the whole cave would indicate. This is clear, since it is easy to determine that all of the plastering and painting in the shrine (including that on the image) was done after most (and probably all) of these intrusive images had been carved. The conclusion that this final decoration of the shrine was done quite early in the period of disruption—say by A.D. 478—is based in part on the fact that it started off in a very carefully programmed way, as a study of the ceilings suggest,s before the program fell apart (Fig. 29). This suggests that at the beginning of the period of disruption fairly strong control was exercised—perhaps even by the original patron, who tried to complete the cave in the proper way, even if he ultimately

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failed in this, as the expedient plastering-over of incompletely excavated areas in the porch and court proves (Figs. 25,26). But even more revealing of the relatively early date (A.D. 478) of the many instrusive sculptures in the shrine—and indeed throughout the cave—is the fact that not one is of the *pralambapādāsana* type, which (in sculptural form) was first introduced to the site in c. A.D. 477, with the creation of the great central images in Cave 16 and in Cave 26. Such *pralamba-pādāsana* images, which by all counts had become the most popular type of image-offering when the site was at its point of collapse in c. A.D. 480, never appear in such intrusive contexts prior to A.D. 479. As a study of the relative chronology of intrusive panels throughout the site shows, other poses are always chosen, prior to this time.[18]

Perhaps in part because of space problem, the more rearward of the large standing Buddhas on either side of the shrine had to be placed right next to the image; and it must bc because of the positioning of these two Buddhas that the Bodhisattvas are relegated to lesser positions, behind the throne (Fig. 29). It is clear that the artist has very consciously and quite unprecedentedly) incorporated these two Buddhas into the image group : they are smaller than the other standing Buddhas, and are placed slightly lower, so that the flying dwarfs could have sufficient space. Thus this image, as it was finally hastily finished, could be considered as the first of those where two standing Buddhas were used as attendants—a hitherto unprecedented arrangement which becomes increasingly common during the site's brief period of disruption when, more and more, Bodhisattvas are omitted altogether.[19]

NOTES

1. From the *Wen-Fu* of Lu Chi (3rd century A.D.) (trans. Achilles Fang).
2. The starting point of A.D. 462 has been proposed and explained in a number of my recent articles, where I also suggest A.D. 482 as the cut-off date for work at the site. I now feel that A.D. 480 is closcr to the truth, for reasons which will be explained in a forthcoming article. I am using the new cut-off date in the present article; see Time Chart.
3. See "Ajanta's Chronology : Politics and Patronage", forthcoming in A.I.I.S. volume (edited by J. Williams); also "Ajanta's Chronology: Cave 1's Patronage and Related Problem," forthcoming in Chhavi II (edited by Anand Krishna).
4. The suggestion that Cave 7 was tied to Ṛiṣikan interests is supported to some degree by the observation that it was started very early; probably before Aśmakan involvement in the site, which began in earnest with the development of the Cave 26 complex in c. A.D. 464. Like a number of other "inaugural" caves (Caves 15, 11, 5, 16) to say nothing of Upendragupta's Caves, 17, 19, and 20, it seems to have been quite neglected during the first year or so of Aśmakan rule over the site.
5. Quoted from the dedicatory inscription of Cave 26 verse 8), in G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, vol. 4 (text), Oxford 1955, pp. 114-118.

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6. *Ibid.*, verses 8; 7.
7. See "Ajanta's Chronology : The problem of Cave Eleven", *Ars Orientalis* 7, (1968) : pp. 155—168. However, the dating of Cave 11's developments in that article has since been somewhat revised (see Time Chart).
8. Cave 7's shrine ceiling must have been cut to its present conventional shape when the walls were cut back to reveal the large standing Buddhas, which had already been carved when the ceiling was painted—clearly not before A.D. 478.
9. S. Weiner's suggestion that this particular mudra may have originated in India, depending solely on her very early dating of Cave 19's facade to c. A.D. 400, seems indefensible. (*Ajanta : Its Place in Buddhist Art*, U. of California Press, 1977, p. 112). J. Williams, reviewing Weiner's study *Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1, March, 1980, p. 179) refers to two known examples from Mathura (Lucknow Archaeological Museum B 2; Cleveland Museum of Art 73.214) "the first of which seems to be late 4th century", while the other can hardly be later than A.D. 450.
10. Among the dozens of seated Buddhas in the ambulatory of Cave 26, for instance, only two (one being a Maitreya image) show the once very popular *abhaya mudra*, and both of these are in areas where the rock is quite flawed.
11. See, for example, the seated Buddha panel at the left of Cave 4's porch doorway; also certain hastily completed minor images in Caves 22, and in Cave Upper 6 (e.g. within the left window frame. In others which must have been similarly painted, the evidence is now lost.
12. I am preparing a separate study on the development of cells, cell doorways, and cell door-fittings.
13. Artists in this period conscientiously avoided painting over or cutting into previous (Mahāyāna) compositions. Cave 11's image was repainted, but as in the case of Cave 7's this was because the hasty earlier conception was being "improved upon" A few intrusive painted Buddhas in Cave 2 cover areas previously painted, but the earlier work consisted only of areas of plain color simple decorative or designs; see, for instance, the small Buddha in the lower right corner of the panel on the rear wall to the left of the Shrine antechamber.
14. V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vakatakas*, Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum, Ootacamund, 1963, vol. 5, p. 111; quoted from his translation of Varāhadeva's Cave 16 inscription, verses 27, 29.
15. Again the reader must be reminded that such dates cannot be considered to be absolute ones—a few years' margin of error must be allowed. In terms of the overall temporal sequence which we propose, they are intended to show the *relative* position, within the whole development of the site, of the event to which they refer. Thus, since we arbitrarily place Harisena's death at the beginning of A.D. 478, the question here is whether the revision was started while he was still alive, or in the much more unstable reign of his successor.
16. W. Spink, "Ajanta's Chronology : The Crucial Cave; *Ars Orientalis*, 10 (1975), pp. 143-169 describes the development of the Cave 16 image, although the datings there vary slightly from those which we now purpose.
17. For other examples where the Bodhisattvas appear behind the throne, see Cave 4 porch panel, at left of doorway; also examples on the front wall of the interior of Cave Upper 6. These are all intrusive images, belonging to the very end of activity at the site.
18. My study of this evidence, which is particularly striking in Cave Upper 6 and in Cave 26, will be published shortly.

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19. An analysis of the Cave 26 ambulatory sculptures (see note 18) show how this change occurred over the course of a brief span of time, probably a mere two years; the panels in the highest priority locations—which tend to be larger and more elaborate too—all have Bodhisattvas, while those in the lowest priority locations never do, and (because time ran out) are often unfinished.

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6

HSÜAN-TSANG AND THE COLOSSAL BUDDHAS AT BĀMIYĀN

MARTHA L. CARTER

The only seemingly sound *terminus ante quem* for dating the two colossal rock-carved Buddha images at Bāmiyān is the testimony of the illustrious Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, scholar, and translator, Hsüan-tsang (Beal, 1884, pp. 49 ff.). On reaching Bāmiyān in the year 632, he describes it as a kingdom made up of a series of valleys high in the Hindu Kush range, running approximately 300 *li* from north to south and 2000 *li* from east to west. He notes that its population lived both in the valleys and on mountain slopes, and that its capital lay on the sides of a steep hill facing the north side of the main valley.

According to Hüan-tsang, Bāmiyān's inhabitants were of a hardy Tokharian stock. The peasants wore clothing of wool and leather, and engaged in subsistence farming and sheep and horse raising in the region's harsh climate. The pilgrim was delighted to find that the country was devoutly Buddhist, although he comments that not only were Buddhism's purest precepts followed, but also lower forms of piety which included the worship of minor spirits. These were probably accretions to Buddhism in the form of tutelary Yakshas, Nagas, or related beings who were propitiated for protection and prosperity by superstitious laymen and passing caravaneers.

We are told that Bāmiyān's king was so devout that at every Buddhist quinquennial assembly he made a mock sacrifice of his treasures, his family, and even his own body, until ceremoniously prevailed upon to barter them back from the monks, in a show of piety well suited to a community whose shrines were dependent to a great extent on the largesse of wealthy traders. The predominant sect in Hsüan-tsang's time was the Lokottaravādin, officially Hīnayānist, but with strong Mahāyāna characteristics (Beal, 1884, p. 50; Watters, 1904, p. 117; Rowland, 1947, pp. 62-63).

Hsüan-tsang describes the colossal Buddhas which he saw at Bāmiyān as follows:

> To the northeast of the royal city there is a mountain, on the declivity of which is placed a stone figure of the Buddha erect, in height 140 to

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150 feet. Its golden hues sparkle on every side, and its precious ornaments dazzle the eyes by their brightness. To the east of this spot there is a convent, which was built by a former king of the country. To the east of the convent is a standing figure of Sakya Buddha made of metallic stone (*teou-shih*), in height 100 feet. It has been cast in different parts and joined together, and thus placed in a completed form as it stands (Beal, 1884. pp. 50-51).

In regard to this passage, it has been generally assumed by scholars that Hsüan-tsang is referring to the rock-carved 175 foot Buddha image which can be seen today in its huge niche on the main valley's north face (Fig. 39), and to its companion to the east, the 127 foot rock-carved Buddha (recently changed from 120 feet in height by remeasurement by Sengupta, 1973 pp. 23-25) in its smaller niche. (Fig 40) (See Watters, 1904, p. 117; Godard, 1928, p. 12, p. 75; Rowland 1947, pp. 62 ff.) Hsüan-tsang tells us that the two colossi face the royal city on the opposite side of the valley and are both to the north-east of it (Beal, 1884, p. 50). Within the main valley, however, the only remains of a city of substantial size encompass the citadel and town of the ill-fated Shahr-i-Gholghola, utterly destroyed by Genghis Khan in 1221 (Godard, 1928, p. 6, pls. IIIa, IV, V). In relation to the two giant Buddhas extant today, Hsüan-tsang's royal city could not have been Shahr-i-Gholghola, since the 175 foot Buddha is definitely to the north-west of it (Fig. 41). This prompted Andre Godard to suggest that Hsüan-tsang's city could only have been much further toward the west end of the main valley at Bāmiyān (Godard, 1928, p. 6). Nevertheless, the Chinese pilgrim's placement of the old capital on a steep hill, running some 7 or 8 *li* along the

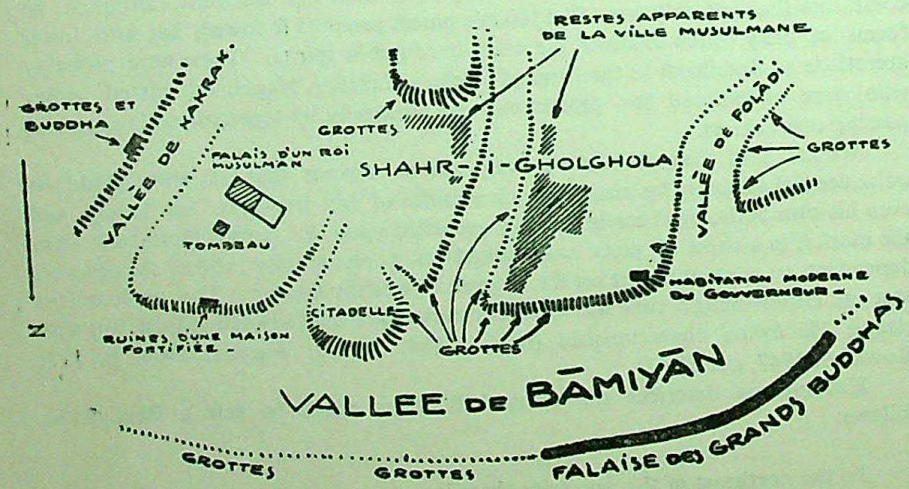

Fig. 41 Map of Bamiyan Valley taken from J. Hackin, Bramian, Paris.

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hillside, and bordered on the north side by high precipices, coincides well with the present site of Shahr-i-Gholghola, the most prominent and easily defensible location in the valley.

Hsüan-tsang tells us that the smaller of the two colossi was 100 feet in height, and the larger one from 140 to 150 feet in height. Thus, in terms of modern measurements, he underestimated the height of both images by over 25 feet, an odd occurrence, since he appears to have had more than a slight tendency toward pious exaggeration when describing Buddhist monuments. For instance, he tells us that the famous wooden Maitreya image at Darel in Udyana was 100 feet high, while the Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hsien two centuries earlier had estimated it to be only 80 feet in height (Beal, 1884, p. 134, p. xxix; Watters, 1904, pp. 118-119). Even more incredible is Hsüan-tsang's description of a Nirvana Buddha figure in a monastery at Bāmiyān as 1000 feet in length. Here, however, the text may be corrupt. It is far more likely that such an image was closer in size to the 55 foot long Buddha in Nirvana found at the site of Tapa Sardār near Ghazni, or the 40 foot long Nirvana Buddha found at Adzhina Tepe in Russian Tajikistan (Taddei, 1974, pp. 111-115; Litvinskiy, 1971).

Other factors in Hsüan-tsang's description of the colossi are even more puzzling. He appears to have mistaken the supposedly gilded surface of the smaller stone colossus for a metal (*tu-shih*), which can only be translated as "bronze" or a similar alloy (Beal, 1884 p. 51; Watters, 1904, p. 118). He then compounds this error by telling us that the statue had been cast in pieces and joined together. These peculiar inconsistencies prompted Benjamin Rowland to theorize that when Hsüan-tsang declared that the image had been "made in parts" (*fen shen*, Chin.; *bunshin*, Jap.), he did not mean this literally, but rather in the sense of esoteric Buddhist terminology as a designation for the concept of smaller Buddhas emanating from the body of the Universal Buddha (Rowland, 1947, p. 65). He suggests further that small bronze Buddha images might have been attached in some way to the 127 foot stone Buddha; but, since there is no evidence for such attachments on the body (or any room for them inside the niche), he conjectures that they could only have been fastened around the outside of it (Rowland, 1947, p. 66).

Yet another curious feature of Hsüan-tsang's description of the smaller Buddha is that, although he states that the larger Buddha is located against the mountain-side, he tells us that the smaller one simply stands near a convent to the east of its companion.

These peculiarities in the pilgrim's description can only be adequately explained if we re-examine what is written and agreed upon in all translations, without relying on the physical evidence of what may be seen at Bāmiyān in our own time. If we do this it becomes apparent that the description, taken at face value, are of *one* rock-carved Buddha, estimated to be between 140 and 150 feet high, and *one* free-standing bronze image of Śākyamuni estimated to be 100 feet in height. The rock-carved Buddha which Hsüan-tsang saw was very probably the 127 foot colossus, located to the north or slightly to the north-east of the

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general vicinity of Shahr-i-Gholghola. The 175 foot image, 400 metres to the west of this one, had not yet been created in 632.

The existence of a large free-standing Buddha image at Bāmiyān in the seventh century is not difficult to accept, if we recall that Hsüan-tsang also saw a gigantic wooden Maitreya at Darel, which he described as 100 feet in height. This work must have been well over 200 years old when he saw it, since it was legendary even in Fa Hsien's time (c. 400). Earlier in his travels, Hsüan-tsang had seen two other huge Buddhas which he describes as over 90 feet tall, standing outside the gates of Kucha (Beal, 1884, p. 21). In front of these colossi was a space reserved for the Buddhist quinquennial assembly. Even if these two statues were not as gigantic as his estimates, they must have been exceptional in size.

The technology involved in casting monumental bronzes was certainly not unknown in Buddhist Asia during this era. We need only be reminded of the Daibutsu of the Todai-ji Temple at Nara, commissioned by the Japanese emperor Shomu. Although the temple took many thousands of workmen over 20 years to construct, a team of bronze casters under a Korean master completed the great Lochana Buddha in only six years (Kidder, 1972, pp. 115-116). Dedicated in 752, it survives today after a series of calamities in an almost completely reconstructed form (Kobayashi, 1975, pp. 45 ff.). It is now only 48 feet in height, although, at the time of its creation it was approximately 53 feet in height. Forerunners of the giant Lochana (Vairocana) of Todai-ji include the rock-carved Buddha from Cave no. 18 at Yun-Kang, dated to the late fifth century, and a similar rock-carved colossus in the Fenghsien-ssu Cave at Lung-men dated to 675 (Snellgrove, 1978, p. 250). It is likely, however, that similar bronzes of monumental size existed in China during the pre-T'ang and T'ang eras, although these, like the Bāmiyān Śākyamuni, probably disappeared many centuries ago. Such a valuable commodity as bronze was rare in Japan, since it is recorded that all of the country's resources in copper went into the casting of the great Buddha. Nevertheless, the availability of bronze and of skilled metal-smiths would have been far greater along the Indo-Iranian trade routes that supported Bāmiyān.

Perhaps, like the original Colossus at Rhodes which stood 105 feet in height, the Bāmiyān bronze was made from the melted down weapons of a defeated enemy (Bieber, 1961, p. 124). Also, one might suppose that, in a reversal of this process, the Bāmiyān bronze could have been melted down for weaponry in a troubled time. Practically nothing is left of the many monumental bronzes of Imperial Rome. The giant seated image of Constantine, over 40 feet in height and originally placed in his basilica, survives only in its huge head and fragments of marble limbs. Its more valuable bronze body has utterly disappeared (Hanfmann, 1970, p. 102).

Kalhaṇa tells us in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that the great mid-eighth century Kashmiri emperor Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa commissioned a bronze Buddha, ". . . reaching up to the skies" for a temple which he built at Parihāsapura

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(Stein, 1900, pp. 194 ff.) Goetz has even suggested that the Bāmiyān colossi might have been the inspiration for this long-lost work (Goetz, 1969, p. 34). Here we might surmise that a likely inspiration might have been our hypothetical lost bronze Śākyamuni.

The production of monumental Buddha images began in North-West India during the Kuṣān period, as suggested by fragments of large-scale figures found at such Gāndhāran sites as Takht-i-Bahi, and by the giant wooden Maitreya at Darel (Foucher, 1905 p. 160f.). It was during this era that Buddhist imagery began to express the concept of the historical Śākyamuni as a giant in stature, beyond all mundane limits of human physical perfection. In the next step of this evolution, as recounted in such works as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika* and *Divyāvadāna* (ch. xii), the Buddha takes on truly supernatural proportions as a veritable embodiment of the World Axis, seated either atop Mt. Meru or the cosmic Lotus, or endowed with a body reaching up to the heavens (Kern, 1884, vol. XXI, pp. 1-29; Burnouf, 1876, pp. 152-192). This concept too may be seen in works of the later Kuṣān period, probably promoted by theistic Mahāyānists, or the more radical Hīnayānists such as the Lokottaravādins who believed in the "supramundane", i.e. Lokottara Buddha nature (Rowland, 1947 pp. 62 ff.). In its final development under Mahāyānism, the cosmic Buddha became the ultimate Universal Vairocana, or an equivalent, the embodiment of the totality of the Greater Universe, encompassing all worlds and all things and consubstantial with them. This doctrine was first codified in the famous *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, which can be traced as far back as Khotan in the fifth century (Zurcher, 1972, p. 62, and app. 4). It formed the foundation of the Hua-yen sect in China, and the Kegon sect in Japan, whose views were enthusiastically espoused by the emperor Shomu, who, no doubt, saw himself and his realm as an earthly counterpart of Lochana and the Greater Universe (Pardue, 1971, p. 119).

It seems likely that the bronze image of Śākyamuni was the earliest colossus created at Bāmiyān. Whether this is true or not, the image is expressly stated to be Śākyamuni, albeit magnified and transfigured to a theistic plane, an example of the first stage of iconographic development. The second stage is perfectly expressed by the 127 foot Buddha, representing the Lokottara Buddha of the Lokottaravādin sect which was predominant at the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit in the early seventh century. Rowland is correct in seeing the 175 foot Buddha in its painted niche as an Ultimate Being or Universal All-Buddha, such as Vairocana. What he did not realize was that the image had not been created when Hsüan-tsang visited Bāmiyān.

Since nothing remains of the Śākyamuni image, we can only imagine that it was modelled after late Gāndhāran works. The smaller colossus still adheres to the Kuṣan formula, although, due to its size and material, the proportions are heavy and squat, with a graceless linear drapery pattern on the robe executed in applied stucco. Its niche was once covered with paintings which have disappeared for the most part, leaving only a few fragments as clues to the original scheme. There are indications that small seated Budddas covered the lower sides of the niche.

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At its apex above the head of the Buddha is the representation of a deity standing in a chariot drawn by four winged horses and attended by a pair of armed and winged females looking vaguely like Greek or Roman Nikes (Fig. 42). The small charioteer, who must have been painted directly between them is now missing. From the evidence of the great mandorla with its serrate edge and the chariot's winged horses, the painting most probably depicts a hybrid Indo-Iranian solar deity, perhaps best identified as Mihira-Sūrya. Painted below this figure on either side of the top of the Buddha's head are balconies displaying half-figures of crowned rulers and royal ladies in Tokharian costume, and kings in Sasanian royal dress (Fig. 43A & B). These are interspersed with worshipful arhats attending seated Buddhas. The location of this scene is undoubtedly intended to be the celestial rsgion, specifically the paradise of the Sun or Heliloka (Scheftelowitz, 1933, p. 324; Rosenfield, 1967, p. 77). The appearance of the sun god in the guise of the Tokharian-Hephthalite Mihira-Surya at the top of the vault obviously served the purpose of defining the heavens around the head of the world Axis or Lokottara Buddha, but may also have been an accommodation to a royal solar cult in which kings were deified in their lifetime as earthly representatives of the solar deity, and were thought to be transported to his paradise in the highest heavens after death. A dynastic cult of this type with strongly solar overtones is well attested among the Kuṣans, as demonstrated by Rosenfield (1967, pp. 189 ff.). The royal figures painted in the heavenly balconies are shown in the company of arhat and seated Buddhas, including Maitreya. Thus, it would appear that the two cosmologies have been visually combined, and the solar paradise Buddhicized to permit deified royal "ancestors" to be shown basking in the rays of the sun god while, at the same time, paying homage to Maitreya and the other Buddhas who dwell there.

It is unfortunately impossible to identify any specific princes by their crowns, except to point out that there are two general types of rulers shown (Godard, 1928 pls. XXIII, XXIV). One very likely belonged to the region of Bāmiyān and to the surrounding principalities of Tokharistan and the Hindu Kush. These rulers are represented as beardless and short-haired, wearing long-sleeved single-lapelled coats and diadems with a large crescent at the front flanked by a pair of winglike elements. A similar crown is worn by the seated Maitreya (Rowland, 1974, pp. 94, fig. 38). A second type is a long-haired and bearded "Sasanian" ruler wearing a royal harness and a crown with an upturned crescent below the usual globe or corymbs. It seems as though the Buddhist painters were deliberately vague about the identity of these deified princes and their ladies, preferring a recognizable type to an individual. Needless to say, if they intended to portray actual Sasanian kings as pious Buddhists, they were stretching their propaganda far beyond reality.

The diadems with crescents and wings are similar to those seen on coin portraits of the Hephthalite "Napki Malka" kings, with the notable omission of the buffalo-head above the crescent (Göbl, 1967, vol. II pp. 132-138, pp. 150-153, vol. III nos. 198-203, 217-222). Unfortunately the dating of these coins is not

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clear, although Göbl has placed them generally throughout the sixth century beginning about 515 in the region of Kapisa-Kabul (Göbl, 1967, vol. II, pp. 71 ff.). Likewise the Sasanian crown type with crescent under globe may be loosely dated from the period of Bahram V in the early fifth century onward (Göbl, 1971, p. 49, Table IX, X). It may be of significance to note that the Hepthalite kingdom of Sogdiana, which flourished from around 480 until the Turkish conquest of the mid-sixth century, minted imitations of Bahram V coins (Mitchener, 1973. p. 36, pp. 46-47, pl. VII, 65a). It may have been from such second-hand sources that the Bāmiyān artists found models for their interpretations of Sasanian crowns.

The style of clothing, particularly the single-lapelled coat and short hairstyle, together with the flat, decorative treatment of the forms is strongly reminiscent of the banqueting lords and ladies painted on the walls of the sixth century fortress of Balalyk Tepe just north of Termez on the Oxus River in the heart of old Tokharistan (Albaum, 1960). This evidence, together with that of the Hephthalite and Sasanian crown types, suggests a date for the complex of painting and sculpture within the niche of the 127 foot Buddha in the middle decades of the sixth century.

As I have pointed out above, it seems probable that the idea of the Universal Buddha (Vairocana or a cognate) developed as early as the fifth century in Khotan. From there its doctrines, centering around the *Avatamsaka sūtra*, were taken to China and finally to Japan where the Kegon sect flourished in the eighth century. It was natural for a ruler's worldly imperium to be likened to that of the great Vairocana, who rules over and permeates the whole of the Greater Universe. In Japan this created a natural alliance between the Kegon sect and the emperor Shomu who commissioned the Lochana Buddha and its temple. One may surmise that this could have been the case at Bāmiyān as well. The Korean monk, Huei-ch'ao relates that in 727 he found Bāmiyān to be a prosperous and important kingdom with many monasteries and a devoutly Buddhist king who commanded a large army and was feared and respected by all the surrounding countries (Godard, 1928, p. 83). At this time, however, both Mahāyānism and Hīnayānism existed at Bāmiyān, a change from the totally Hīnayānist community found a century earlier by Hsüan-tsang.

It appears most probable that the 175 foot Buddha and its painted niche date from the later seventh or early eighth century, just before the period of commercial decline brought about by Arab interruptions in the trade routes of Transoxiana. The painted scheme of the larger Buddha's niche appears to have been even more complex than that of the smaller one. Standing on the head of the colossus one may see on the ceiling above images of enthroned Bodhisattvas with attendants and musicians. On the haunches of the vault are rows of seated deities, and below these seated Buddhas with multicolored haloes displaying various *mudrās*. Representations of triads of flying divinities in medallions may be seen from below on the cusps of the arches on each side of the niche. Still further below these are fragments of paintings of more seated Buddhas under

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various trees and again with varied *mudrās*. In both style and composition we find ourselves much closer to an Indian concept of the Greater Universe than an Iranian one, perhaps due to the influence of the flourishing Kārkota empire centered in Kashmir and a new wave of Mahāyānism which swept across the trade routes during the seventh century. The small figure of a donor painted on a fragment of the great niche shows a slim-waisted elegant gentleman wearing high boots and a double-lapelled coat (Fig. 44) (Rowland, 1974 p. 103). The style of dress is very close to that of the large scale clay figure of a seated nobleman with his lady found at Fondukistan Monastery not far from Bāmiyān (Hackin, 1959, pp. 49 ff.). Coins from an ash urn under the seated couple have been recently dated by Göbl to 689, a time perhaps not remote from that of the creation of the 175 foot Buddha in its painted niche (Göbl, 1967, vol. II, p. 314). It is important to remember that international Buddhism was flourishing in the Hindu Kush region up to the mid-eighth century and the advent of Islam as a

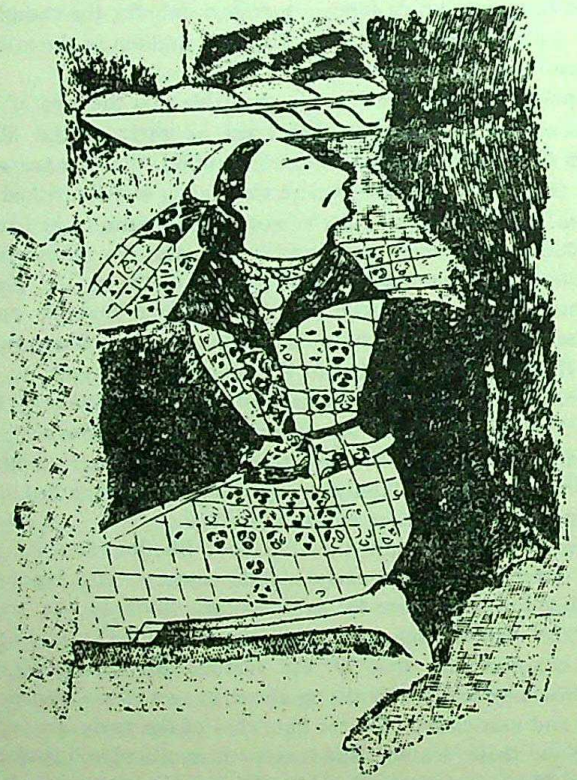

Fig. 44 Drawing of donor figure from niche of the 175 foot Buddha taken from Rowland's The Art of Central Asia, fig. 48

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serious threat. Even the eventual decline and demise of Buddhism, however, must have been a gradual process, since the new faith did not have a firm control over local populations until the ninth century or in some areas even later.

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7

THE APPEARANCE OF AMOGHAPĀŚA IN PĀLA PERIOD ART

JANICE LEOSHKO

Buddhist iconographical studies are important for the valuable information they provide concerning the identities of existing images and their meaning, but such studies can also be useful for clarifying religious and artistic developments in Buddhism.[1] Questions concerning the emergence of various iconographic forms in India are especially important in this respect as changes in iconography may, in some way, reflect changes in doctrine or practice. Further, such studies may help determine how Indian forms served as precedents for images made in countries like Tibet, Nepal, China and Japan. Pāla period Buddhist sculpture from Eastern India (circa eighth through twelfth centuries) survives in sufficient quantity to allow investigations into questions of iconographic development. This type of inquiry is particularly important with regard to this school of art, for Eastern India, witnessing a florescence of Buddhist activity during the Pāla period, greatly influenced the artistic and religious traditions developing outside of India.

Of iconographic interest in this context are a number of stone sculptures depicting multiple-armed forms of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.[2] Never acquiring the same level of popularity as two-armed forms of this Bodhisattva, they nonetheless constitute a significant number of works from the Pāla period. What is perhaps most interesting about the multiple-armed images is that there seem to be regional and chronological limits for at least some of the forms of Avalokiteśvara represented in these stone sculptures.[3]

The widespread appearance of multiple-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara occurred by the ninth century with seemingly few antecedents. The significant period for the popularity of such forms was the early part of the Pāla period, for most images depicting multiple-armed forms date to either the ninth or tenth centuries and not later. While four-armed forms are most commonly found, a smaller number of six-armed images also survive. Marie Terese de Mallmann, in her encyclopedic work on Avalokiteśvara in 1948, located six such six-armed images. I know of twenty-five stone images from Bihar, and most likely even more remain to be uncovered in India as well as in collections outside of India. The popularity of the six-armed forms appears to have been limited to sites in the Gayā region

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(present day Nawādā and Gayā districts of the modern state Bihar) as the majority of the images are found there with much fewer found in the adjacent areas of Bihar. Further, the majority of the six-armed images date to either the ninth or early tenth century. Although the images seem to represent several different forms of Avalokiteśvara, the majority of them may be identified as a form of Avalokiteśvara known as Amoghapāśa, the Bodhisattva with the unfailing noose.[4]

The exact origins of Amoghapāśa are not yet clearly defined, but the early existence of this form of Avalokiteśvara is testified to by the fact the *Amoghapāṣahrdhyanadharisūtra* was translated into Chinese as early as A.D. 587[5]. Evidence of its enduring popularity is witnessed by the repeated translations made into Chinese in the seventh by Hsüan-tsang, Bodhiruci and Amoghavajra and again in the tenth century by Shih-hu.[6] Amoghapāśa is described as one of the six manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, and one author has translated the Japanese name of the form, Fukukenjaku, as meaning the Bodhisattva whose snare is not empty.[7] Basically, this points out the significant nature of this form of Avalokiteśvara as one who catches all sentient beings and saves them with his lasso, which can be defined as the rope of compassion.[8] Thus, the basic nature of Avalokiteṣvara, seen as the Bodhisattva of the present *kalpa* and jewel of the sangha (*sangharatna*) and known for his overwhelming compassion (*karuṇa*) for all sentient beings, is particularly emphasized by the form of Amoghapāśa.[9] The text of the *Amoghapāṣahrdayadhāranī* as translated by R.O. Meisezahl clearly emphasizes the munificent qualities Amoghapāṣa.[10] The text specifies that those who honor Amoghapāśa and recite the text obtain twenty benefits in this life, and significantly, gain other eight at the brink of death.[11] Avalokiteśvara is called there the great compassionate one who brings the stream of life of many beings to maturity, realizes the hopes of all beings and atones for every obstruction due to past actions and delivers from all diseases.[12] However, while certain elements of the Bodhisattva's appearance are mentioned, this text does not contain a complete description.[13]

Evidence of the widespread popularity of Amoghapāśa is not limited to surviving texts, but is also provided by the numerous and fairly early appearance of Amoghapāśa images outside of India.[14] The appearance of Amoghapāśa images as early as the eighth century in countries like Japan prompted Mallmann to propose that there should be Indian precedents for this form.[15] She and then later, Pratapaditya Pal, in fact identified such Indian precedents in Pāla period images like the work illustrated in Fig. 45, which is originally from Kurkihār, a site in the Nawādā district, but now located in the Indian Museum in Calcutta.[16] Although only six-armed, where most known Amoghapāśa images have eight arms, they rightly noted the presence of the *pāśa* held in the figure's middle left hand. The *pāśa* or noose is the distinctive attribute of this form of Avalokiteśvara, for otherwise, Amoghapāśa images share many features found in other forms of Avalokiteśvara. The other left hands of this image in the Indian Museum hold the *kamaṇḍalu* and the *padma*, common attributes of Avalokiteśvara, and the three right hands holds the *akṣamālā* the *cintāmaṇi* and display the *varada mudrā*, also all

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seen in other forms of Avalokiteśvara. Further, the figure of Amitabha in the Bodhisattva's head-dress and the two attendants at each side, depicting Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī, are also shared by many forms of Avalokiteśvara.

Neither Mallmann nor Pal had a textual description which was in exact agreement with this image, but their identification of work as a representation of Amoghapāśa is strongly supported by the presence of the *pāśa*. Iconographic identifications made without the support of corroborating text, necessitate ascertaining what are the salient features of a particular form which are the key to its identification and considering how the image in question relates to securely identified representations of that particular form. The Kurkihār image presented no difficulties in either respect for its identification as Amoghapāśa. While it is preferable to have textual support for identifications, the incomplete knowledge about Indian iconographic literature and the fragmentary survival of this literature makes this impossible in every case. Scholars like D.C. Bhattacharyya are still uncovering new iconographic information contained in previously unknown or unpublished texts. But as he has pointed out, different categories of texts contain different traditions of iconographic descriptions for the same form so, for some images, the exact, corresponding iconographic literature may be completely lost.[17]

The solution to the lacunae of iconographic textual descriptions, as illustrated by the identification of the Kurkihār image as a form of Amoghapāśa, is to identify images on the basis of the closest available textual descriptions, even when there are discrepancies between text and image. As noted by others, descriptions of Amoghapāśa are completely missing in the Indian texts, the *Sādhanamālā* and the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, often used for iconographic identifications.[18] But descriptions of Amoghapāśa are found in Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese collections; a Nepalese manuscript of the *Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara pūjā* contains a description of the most popularly depicted eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa.[19] And R.O. Meisezahl has published descriptions of the eight-armed form preserved in the Tibetan *Tanjur* which are recorded to have come from Bengal and Kashmir. These descriptions all agree in prescribing the *akṣamālā*, *pāśa*, *abhaya mudrā* and *varada mudrā* for the right hands of the figure and the *padmā*, *tridaṇḍī*, *pustaka* and *kamaṇḍalu* for the left ones.[20]

Meisezahl also published descriptions preserved in the *Tanjur* but originally from India of twelve, ten, six and four-armed forms of Amoghapāśa.[21] The descriptions of the six-armed form prescribes for the right hands, the *kamaṇḍalu*, *tridaṇḍī* and *varada mudrā* and the *padma*, *pāśa* and *akṣamālā* for the left hands.[22] The Kurkihār image in the Indian Museum differs from this description by the absence of the *tridaṇḍī* on his right side where the *cintāmani* appears instead, and the *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣamālā* have switched sides. Thus, although the *Tanjur* description indicates that textual sources for six-armed forms of Amoghapāśa do exist, it does not seem to be one used in the tradition which created the Kurkihār image. The difference between the Kurkihār image and the description mentioned above for the eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa—besides, of course,

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two arms—is the lack of the *tridaṇḍi*, *pustaka* and *abhaya mudrā* and instead, the presence of the *cintāmaṇi*. It is the *cintāmaṇi* which basically separates the Kurkihār image from other forms and images of Amoghapāśa.

The *cintāmaṇi* is an atrribute of Avalokiteśvara, but one usually associated with forms other than Amoghapāśa. The most popularly known form which includes this attribute is probably the form known as Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara.[23] However, a six-armed form described in the *Sādhanamāla* known as Pretasantarpita, also holds the jewel or *cintāmāṇi*. Interestingly, Pretasantarpita which can be translated as "satiated with *pretās*," hungry ghosts, seems to share some of the same functions as Amoghapāśa as the deliverer of beings from horrible existence, specifically from hell.[24] The *cintāmaṇi* is viewed as the jewel which grants all wishes, a popular aspect of Avalokiteśvara's nature, but also specifically connected to his ability to save and protect. The other attributes of Pretasantarpita are given as the *varda mudrā*, and book for the right hands which also hold the *cintāmaṇi*, and the *varada mudrā*, rosary and *tridaṇḍī* for the left hands.[25] While the Kurkihār image is clearly not a depiction of the Pretasantarpita form, the presence of the *cintāmaṇi* may be explained by the Pretasantarpita form with which the Amoghapāśa form is clearly related in nature.

What has not been fully realized before is that the image from Kurkihār is not an isolated survivor of this form of Amoghapāśa in Pāla period art. A number of other six-armed images of Avalokiteśvara exactly correspond to the image now in the Indian Museum with regard to dress, pose, attendants and most importantly, attributes. Some of the images can still be found *in situ* at various sites in the Nawādā and Gayā districts of Bihar. Two examples of works still at sites are an image from Amethi, a village very near to Kurkihār (Fig. 46), and an image still at Kurkihār village (Fig. 47). These two works are extremely close to the Kurkihār image now in the Indian Museum in terms of iconography. All three hold the same attributes, stand in *samapādasthānaka*, wear long dhotis, have antelope skins draped around their torsos, are jewelled and crowned and have a small figure of Amitabha placed on their heads. Each is attended by Tārā on the left side and Bhṛkūtī, who is four-armed, on the right. Stylistically, the three works are also quite similar. The common treatment of the figures, similar proportions, the delineation of dress and ornaments, the design motifs edging the backslabs and the row of doubly-incised lotus petals on which the figures stand are some of the feautures linking the works together and indicating both a similar date and provenance. Such features are some of the common stylistic traits found in ninth and early tenth century images from Bihar.[26] Thus, the three works can be regarded as typical examples of the stylistic and iconographic treatment of the Amoghapāśa form found in the Gayā region in the ninth and tenth centuries.

Significantly, these works correspond to still other extant images, some also still *in situ*, and some in museum collections. Examples of works in museum collection include an image now in the Lucknow Museum (Fig. 48) and an

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image now in the Patna Museum (Fig. 49). The Lucknow Museum piece has no recorded provenance. While the Patna Museum register lists the provenance of Fig. 49 as unknown, this fragmentary work was published while still at its place of origin which was Viṣṇupur, also a site quite near to Kurkihār.[27] Thus, the close stylistic and iconographic treatments seen in these two images to the previously discussed Amoghapāśa images bolster the assumption that this form enjoyed some popularity in the Gayā region during the ninth and early tenth centuries.

More evidence for the popularity of six-armed Amoghapāśa figures can be found in another type of image surviving from the Pāla period. These works, like the image presently located in an exterior niche on the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā (Fig. 50) and an image now in the Patna Museum (Fig. 51), are seated, six-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara with Tārā and Bhṛkūtī as attendants.[28] A most unusual aspect of these images is that while they have only three arms on each side, there are four attributes on their left side (see Fig. 52). The attributes are : the *padma*, *pāśa*, *pustaka* and *kamaṇḍalu*. The presence of the *pāśa* again identifies the images as figures of Amoghapāśa. They differ from the standing six-armed form of Amoghapāśa not only by the addition of the *pustaka* on their left side, but also by the exchange of the *abhaya mudrā* for the *cintāmaṇi* on their right side. The seated form also differs from the six-armed description published by Meisezahl in two respects : the substitution of the *abhaya mudrā* for the *tridaṇḍī* and the additional attribute of the *pustaka* on the figure's left side. Significantly, the *abhaya mudrā* and *pustaka* are characteristics of the eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa. The difference between the seated, six-armed form—with the unusual distinction of more attributes than arms—and the standing, six-armed form, in works of approximately the same date and provenance is interesting. Indicating that more than one variation existed in the art of this period for Amoghapāśa within the same region, the iconography for this form of Avalokiteśvara may have been in a state of flux during this time. For the seated six-armed form is closer to the standing eight-armed form found elsewhere than to the standing six-armed form found in images from the Gayā region.

The regional and chronological factors noticed here show the importance of considering questions of iconographic traditions : the emergence, duration and development of iconographic forms in relation to the period and region in which they were produced. A greater knowledge of such traditions can be useful in a number of ways. The determination of regional and chronological factors for various forms can help, for instance, to pinpoint more exactly the provenance of images now without a known provenance, furthering a more complete understanding of artistic developments for different sites. Secondly, the determination of iconographic traditions reveals the seemingly conscious and evolving preferences for certain forms, which can help clarify the locality for certain religious developments.

In this regard, it is significant to note that the Amoghapāśa image still *in*

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situ at Kurkihār is only one of three such images still at the site. These, in addition to images from Kurkihār now in museums, indicate that Kurkihār may have been a centre for practices connected to the worship of Amoghapāśa so far found have all been from sites very near to Kurkihār, reflecting a particular popularity for this form in the general region which is not seemingly shared by adjacent regions. While caution prevents, for the present, any further speculation, because neither Kurkihār nor the sites nearby have yet been excavated, the known extant images do document some special importance for this form. The number of chance finds in the Gayā region far exceeds the number of six-armed images discovered at Nālandā, a site which has been excavated. And furthermore, none of the six-armed images from Nālandā seem to be examples of Amoghapāśa. Instead the only forms of Avalokiteśvara which might be identified as images of Amoghapāśa are images with twelve arms.[29]

Figure 53 is an example from Nālandā showing an image of a twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara which may be identified as Amoghapāśa, although it does not completely correspond to the twelve-armed description published by Meisezahl. However, the figure holds in his left hands the *pāśa*, as well as the *tridaṇḍī* and *pustaka*, which are the particular attributes listed for the eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa. Such twelve-armed images are extremely uncommon; I know of only seven, and intriguingly, almost all of them come from sites in the Nālandā district very near to Nālandā and not from the Gayā region. Figure 54 illustrates another example of a twelve-armed image of Avalokiteśvara. The work is now in the storage collection of the Indian Museum, but originally came from Telhāra, a site some twenty miles from Nālandā.[30] While the work from Nālandā is an early example, dated to the eighth century, the image from Telhāra probably dates to the early tenth century.[31] TheTelhāra image in the Indian Museum is not the only work depicting this form of Amoghapāśa from Telhāra for two other fragmentary images can still be found at the site. Thus, the twelve-armed images, as was seen for the six-armed images, seem to have been particularly popular at a few sites, again indicating localized practices for Amoghapāśa.

Although the twelve-armed images from the Nālandā area reveal some worship of Amoghapāśa in this region, the main centre of activity for this form of Avalokiteśvara, as witnessed by the extant remains, seems to have been the Gayā region. In no place in Bihar does a tradition utilizing the form of an eight-armed figure of Amoghapāśa seem evident. I have encountered only one image from Bihar which shows an eight-armed figure of Avalokiteśvara and this image does not hold the *pāśa*, the distinctive attribute of Amoghapāśa.[32] Thus, the presence of Amoghapāśa in Pāla period art was manifested most popularly in six-armed forms, which were limited, for the most part, both regionally and chronologically.

While uncovering the reasons for such chronological and geographical limits must await further study, one possible underlying cause can be noted here. The popularity of the six-armed forms of Amoghapāśa in the Gayā region may reflect

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the influence of ideas or activities occurring at the nearby sites of Bodhgayà and Gayā. Gayā, in particular, was and still is a well-known Hindu *tīrtha*, especially important for the performance of *srāddha* ceremonies for ancestors.[33] These activities, concerned with the welfare of dead ancestors, can be related to one of the popular aspects of Avalokiteśvara's nature, namely his concern for and the rescue of the suffering, particularly those consigned to hell.[34] The *pāśa*, a defining element of Avalokiteśvara's Amoghapāśa form, as mentioned above, is used to save beings from all sorts of misfortune. But specially, the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* states there are eight benefits to be gained at the hour of death which all seem geared towards an escape from an unpleasant existence.[35] Further emphaisizing Avalokiteśvara's concern for those in unhappy state is the mention in certain texts and the actual appearance in some images like those illustrated in Figures 53 and 54 of a particular *preta*, hungry ghost, who is nourished by Avalokiteśvara. Studies have indicated that the Buddhist concern for *pretas* has its roots in the Hindu tradition of *srāddha* ceremonies.[36] Interestingly, the possible connection between the meaning of Gayā as a centre of *srāddha* activity and the popularity of Amoghapāśa images in the Gayā region, may be bolstered by the fact that the image now enshrined on top of Pretaśilā Hill at Gayā, the specific abode of the hungry ghosts, is not a Brahmanical deity but Avalokiteśvara. Further consideration of Amoghapāsa images within the development of other iconographic forms in this region might provide greater insight into the nature and meaning of religious practices and the art it fostered during this important period of Buddhist activity in India.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a listing of some of the important works on Buddhist art and iconography, see Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann. *Introduction a l'iconographie du tāntrisme bouddhique* (Paris: Bibliotheque du Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, 1975), 473-479.
2. Multiple-armed forms of Avalokiteṣvara from the period also exist in metal images and manuscript paintings, but are even fewer in number than the stone images which form the subject of the present study.
3. I would greatefully like to acknowledge the guidance of my advisor, Dr. Susan Huntington. Her work on the stylistic developments of Pāla and Sena period art both permitted and prompted me to consider regional and chronological factors of iconographic developments. Her study of this art has been Published, see *The Pāla and Sena Schools of Sculpture*, Studies in South Asian Cnlture. vol. X. ed., J.E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983).
4, Of few six-armed stone images which cannot be identified as Amoghapāśa, some do not correspond to any textual describtions. See figure 71 in *Tantrayāna Art Album*, edited by S.K. Saraswati (Calcutta : The Asiatic Society, 1977), for an example of one six-armed image which can be identified as representing the form Sugatisandarśana Lokeśvara.

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5. R. O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī, "*Monumenta Nipponica*, XVII (1962), 272.
6. Ibid.
7. E. Dale Saunders, *Mudrā. A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture*, Bollingen Series LVIII (New York: Pantheon Books, 1960), 172-173.
8. G. P. Malasekera, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, Fascicle 3: Aka-Anabhirati (Colombo : Sri Lanka : Government of Sri Lanka Press, 1964), 476.
9. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958), 124.
10. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī," 293-297.
11. Ibid., 293-294.
12. Ibid., 298.
13. Ibid., 297-298. Here it is mentioned that he wears an antelope-skin, sacred cord, garland, crown, etc. but attributes held are not specified. On pages 299-300, a rite for making an image of the Buddha and Avalokiteśvara is briefly mentioned with little description of the actual appearance of the two figures.
14. Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-I," *Oriental Art*, n.s. XII, 4(1966), 234-239.
15. Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara* (Paris : Civilisations du Sud, 1948), 168.
16. Ibid., Also see Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-II." *Oriental Art*, n.s. XIII, 1(1967), 27.
17. Dipak Chandra Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Buddhist Iconography* (New Delhi : Manohar, 1978), 3-4.
18. *Sādhanamālā*, edited by B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. XXVI, and Vol. XLI (Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1925, 1928); *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayakaragupta, edited by B. Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. CIX (Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1949).
19. R. O. Meisezahl, "Amoghapāśa, Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayanic Aspects", *Monumenta Serica*, XXVI (1967), and Pal, "The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara-I," 234.
20. Meisezahl, "Amoghapāśa, Some Nepalese Representations and Their Vajrayanic Aspects," 478-482.
21. Ibid., 483-486.
22. Ibid.
23. For a good discussion of Cintāmaṇicakra Avalokiteśvara, see Pratapaditya Pal, "The Iconography of Cintāmaṇi Cakra Avalokiteśvara," *Journal of the Indian Society of Orientai Art*, n.s. II (1967-68), 39-48.
24. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 141-142.
25. Ibid. It is interesting to note that the *pustaka* (book) held by this form may relate to the *cakra* held by the Cintāmaṇicakra form of Avalokiteśvara which is supposed to symbolize the dharma. Thus, two aspects of the latter form correspond to that found in the Pretasantarpita form. This may be of some significance since there are no known Indian texts describing Cintāmaṇicakra.
26. The dating of the images is based on stylistic comparison to images dated by inscriptions, for example, the Tārā image from Itkhauri which is dated in the

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reign of Mahendrapāla, circa late ninth century. For a thorough treatment of the dated sculptures, see Huntington, *The pāla and Sena Schools of sculpture*.

27. The photograph appears in A.W. Keith, "Notes on Buddhist Remains in Magadha," *Bengal : Past and Present*, I (July-Sept., 1910), figure 4. See *Tantrayāna Art Album*, figure 72 for another example of an image with an unknown provenance which can be identified as Amoghapāśa and probably comes from the Gayā region.
28. See *Tantrayāna Art Album*, figures 75 and 76, for more examples of the seated, six-armed form of Amoghapāśa. Figure 76 is actually from Kurkihār and not Nālandā as stated there.
29. Another complete image of a twelve-armed form of Avalokisteśvara is preserved at Nālandā, and several fragments which might also have depicted the same form are part of the storage collection of the Nālandā Site Museum. In addition, at least one other twelve-armed image of Avalokiteśvara can be found at Ghosrāwān, a site nearby to Nālandā. The only twelve-armed image I know of from the Gayā district is still in situ at Dharawāt. Interestingly, it is a late image, perhaps dating to the eleventh century. And the site, although in the Gayā district, is near to the border of the Nālandā district.
30. Frederick Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif," *Atribus Asiae*, 32 (1970), 105-124, notes the accurate provenance of the piece as Telhāra and mentions that it is in the storage collection of the Indian Museum. However, he did not publish an Illustration of the work nor mention its museum number which is 3795.
31. For the dating of this image from Nālandā, see Frederick Asher, *The Art of Eastern India 300-800* (Minneapolis, MN : University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 81 and plate 163.
32. This image is presently in the storage collection and numbered 3810. Unfortunately, its provenance is not recorded but it does come from Bihar.
33. For an early and extensive account of pilgrim activities at Gayā, see Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812*, edited by John F.W. James (Patna : Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1936), I : 98-134.
34. For a discussion of Avalokiteśvara, see Rajendralala Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (Calcutta : The Asiatic Society, 1882), 95-97, and Mallmann, *Introduction a l'étude d'Avalokitesvara*, 95-104.
35. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī," 293-294.
36. John Strong, "Filial Piety and Buddhism: The Indian Antecedents to A Chinese Problem," in *Traditions in Contact and Change*, Selected Proceedings of the XIVth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, edited by Peter Slater and Donald Wiebe (Waterloo, Ontario : Wilfried Laurier University Press, 1983), 182-186. Particularly interesting is Strong's discussion on the nature of *Pretas*. He differentiates *pretas* from *pitṛs* as *pretas* being the ghosts of newly deceased parents. He contends that although *pretas* denote any ghosts, in the context of religious practice, it means the spirits of one's own departed ancestors.
37. For discussion and illustration of the image, see Claude Jacques, "Note sur une stèle d'Avalokiteśvara a Gayā," *Arts Asiatiques*, XVI(1967), 119-124.

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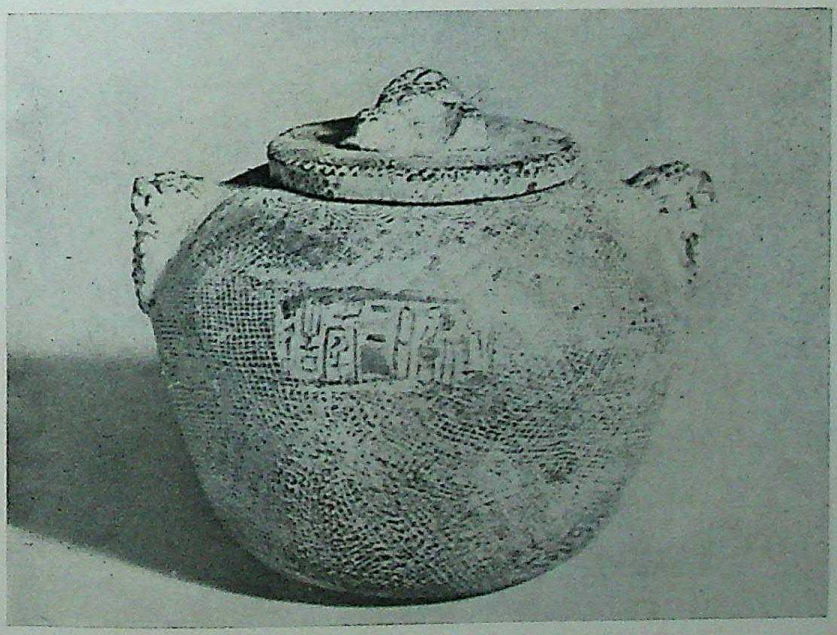

Fig 1 & 2 Chinese ceramic jar showing seated image of Buddha in *bhumi sparsamudra*.

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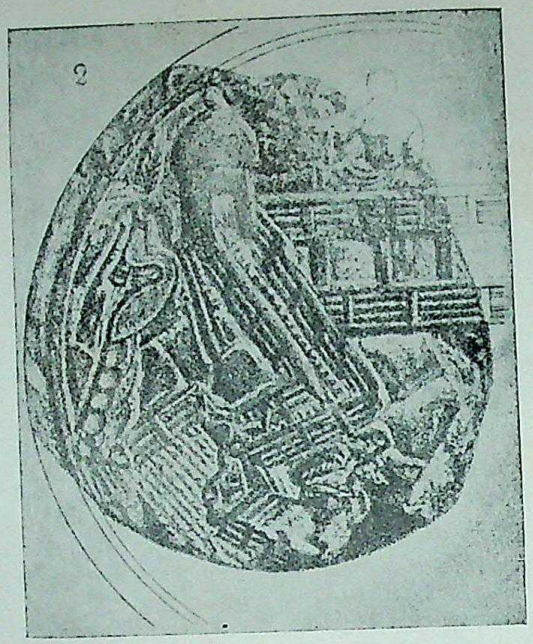

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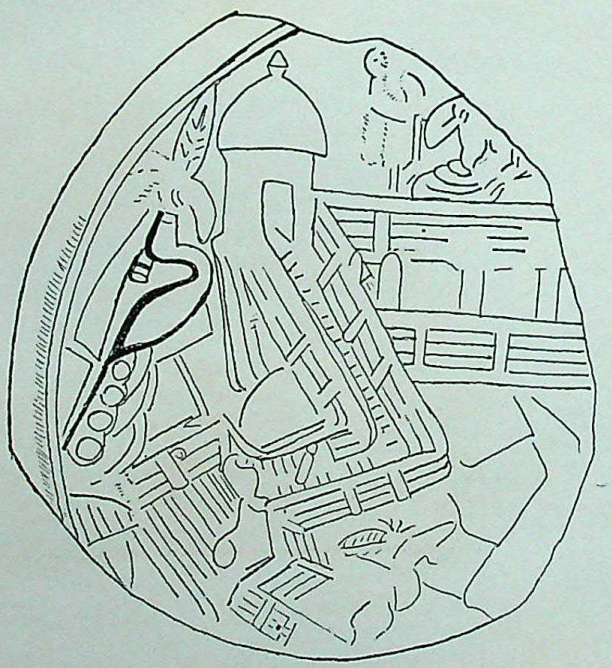

Fig. 3 & 4 A tiny steatite plaque showing Buddha seated on the top most structural cross-member.

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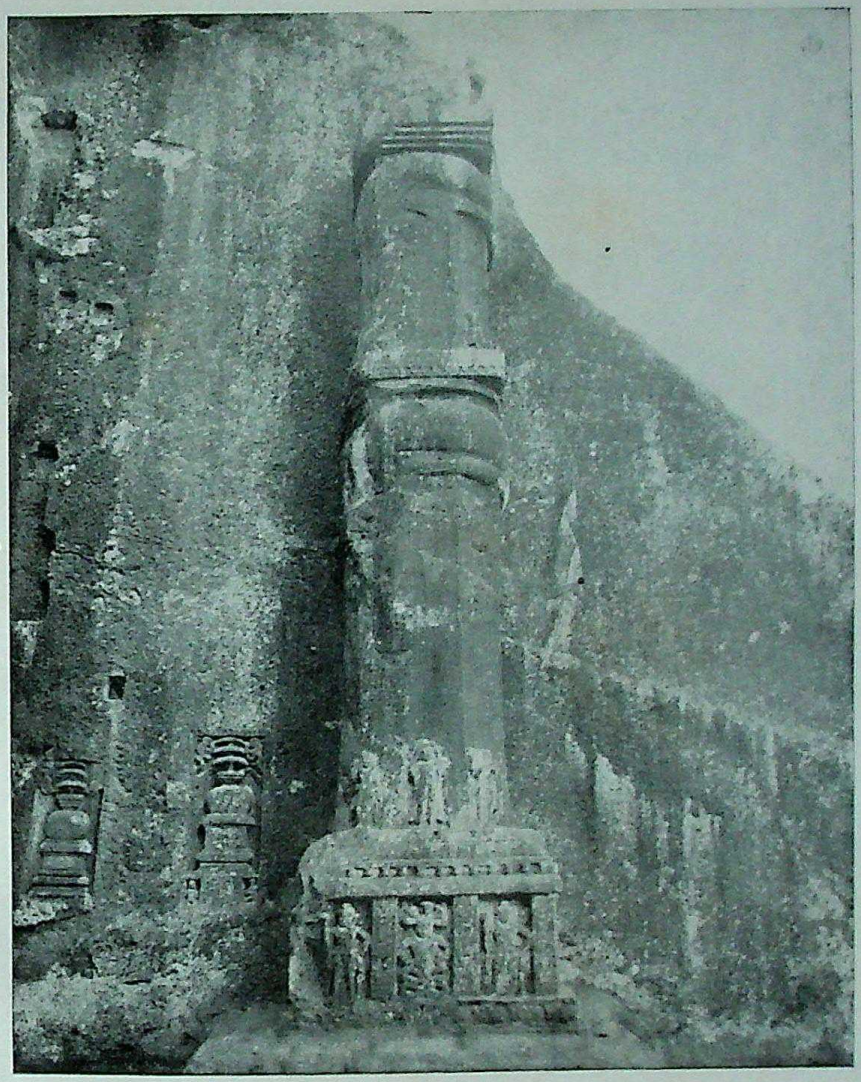

Fig. 5 A seated Buddha with two Bodhisattvas facing south.

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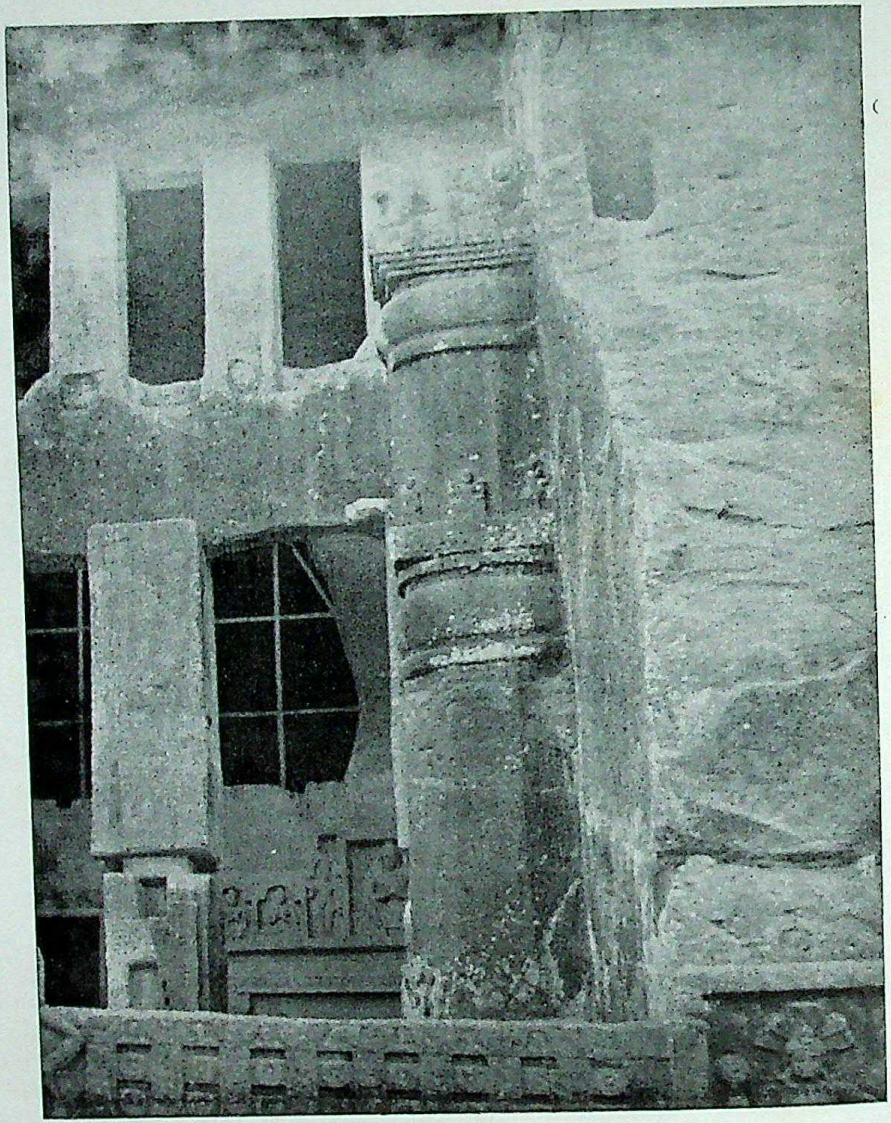

Fig. 6 A standing Buddha with two Bodhisattvas facing west.

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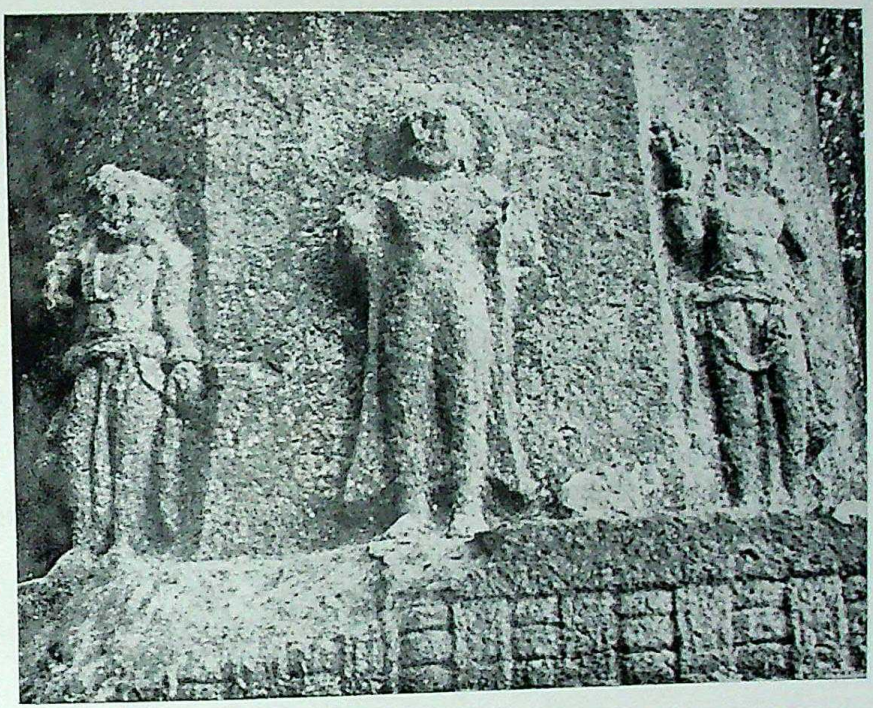

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IA1

IA2 (X3)

IA3

(X4)

IB1c

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B2a

C1

D1 (X4)

D2 (appr X175)

Fig. 10 Reconstructed Buddha showing hand positions, details of collar, cloak, usnisa, moustache, halo and heels.

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I E1

I F1a

I F 2b

I F 3a

Fig. 11 Image of the Buddha on the Bimaran casket.

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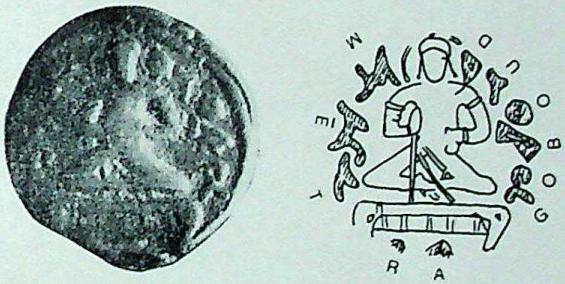
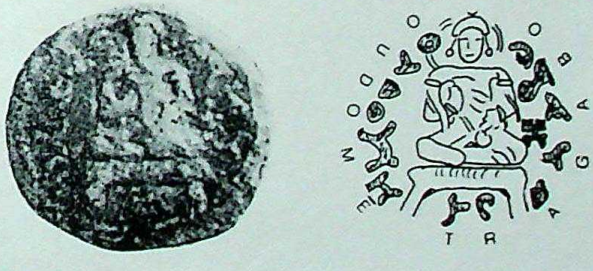
I F 4

I G1b



II A1a



II B1b

Fig. 12 Image of the Buddha on the Bimaran casket.

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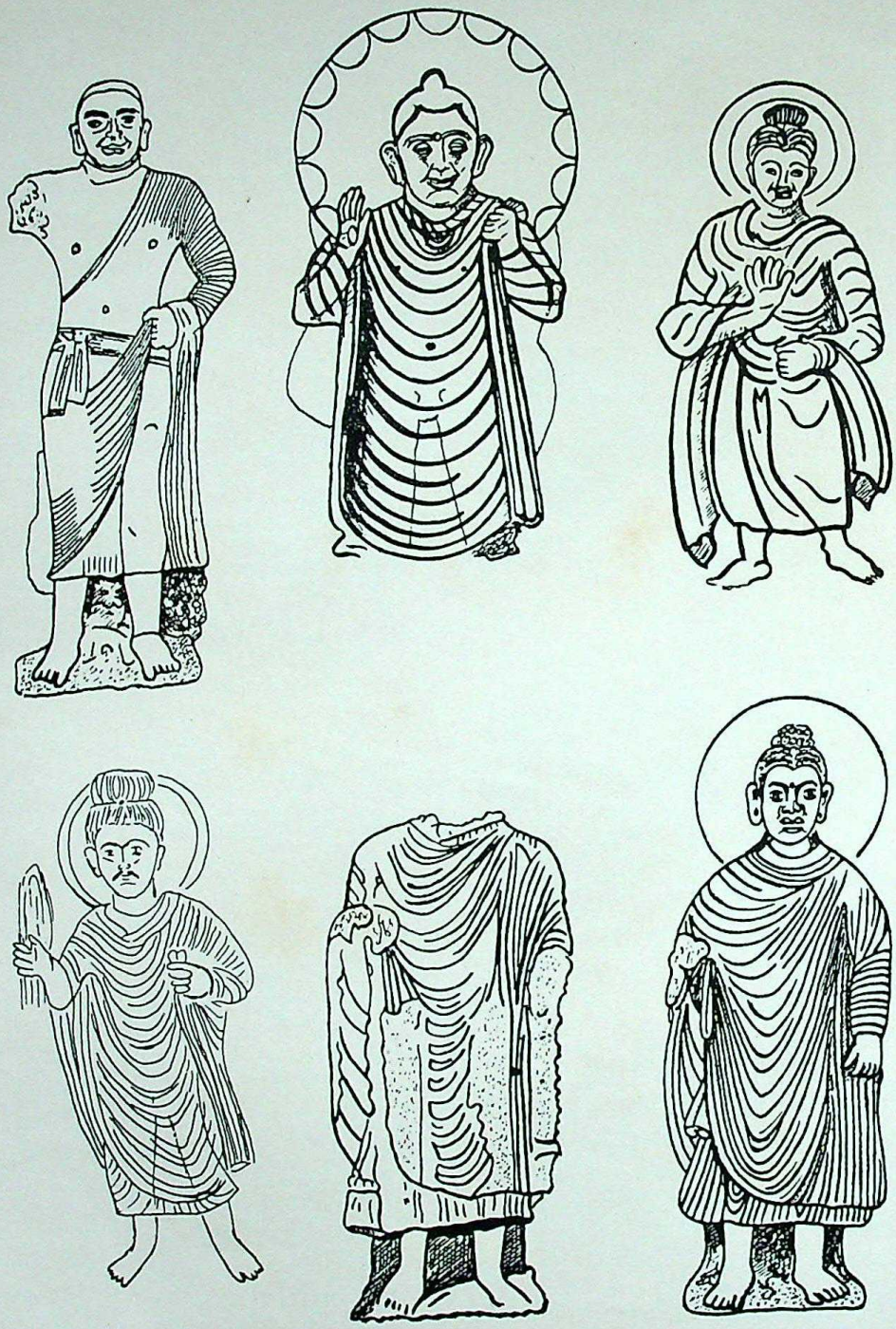

Fig. 13 a. Mathura Buddha dated Kanishka year 3. b. Mathura Buddha in Mathura Museum. c. Buddha on Bimaran Casket (B.M.). d. Gandhara Buddha relief dated from Mardan. e. Gandhara Buddha from Loriyan Tanjai year 318. f. Gandhara Buddha in Lahore Museum.

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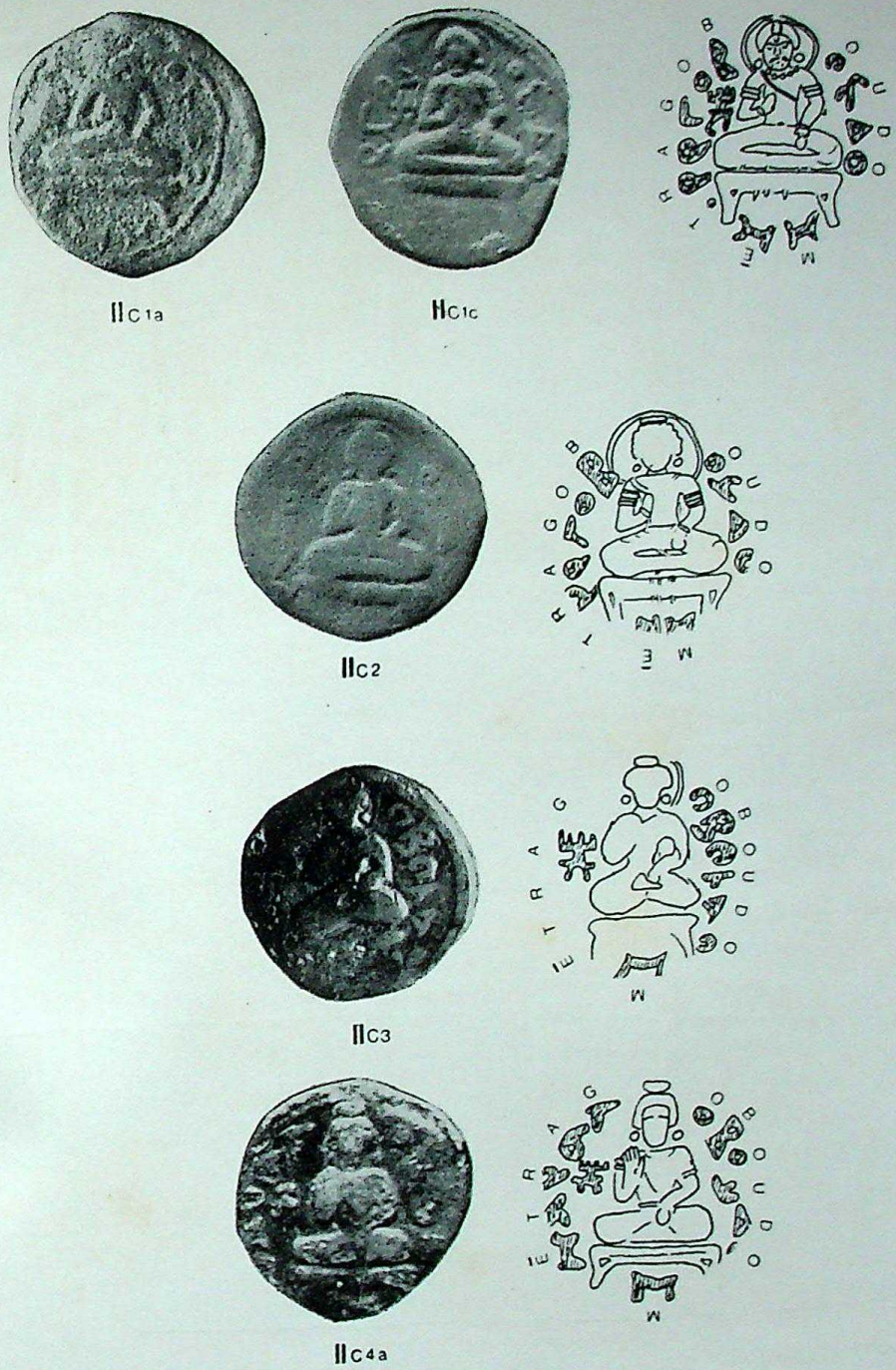

Fig. 14 Sakyamuni image belonging to Mathura School.

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Fig. 15 Buddha flanked by two guardians, as ascetics approach, Andandheri, Dt. Dir, Pakistan, 14 x 9½", Schist.

Fig. 16 Buddha seated in a cave flanked by two guardians as ascetics approach. Chatpat, Dt. Dir, Pakistan, 15½ x 5½", Schist.

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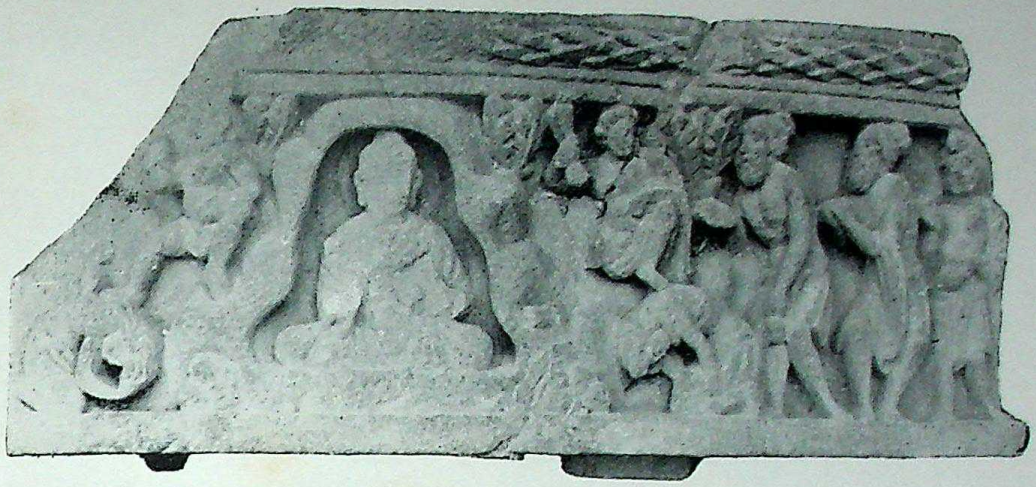

Fig. 17 Buddha meditating in cave flanked by two guardians as ascetics approach. Chatpat, Dt. Dir, Pakistan, Schist.

Fig. 18 Buddha flanked by two guardians. Findsite unknown. British Museum, London, Approx. 4½", Brown Schist.

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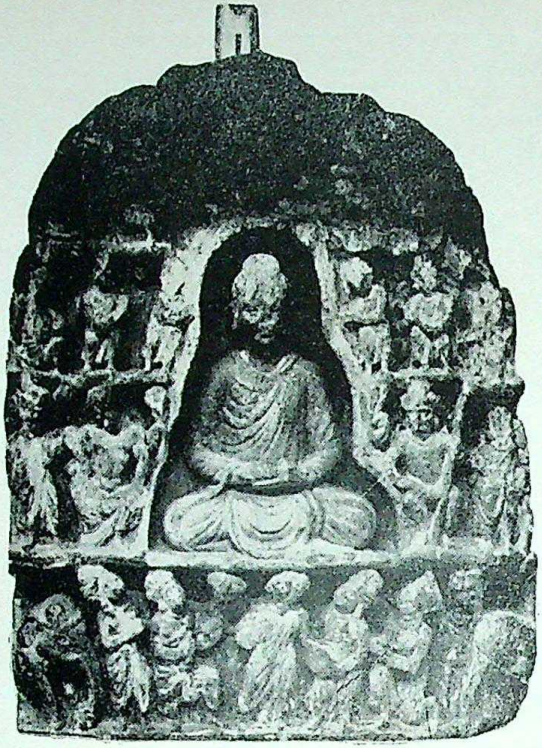

Fig. 19 The visit of Sakra. Findsite unknown. British Museum, London. Ht. 13", Grey Schist.

Fig. 20 Detail of Fig. 19. Two guardians flanking the Buddha seated in a cave.

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Fig. 22 Plan of Cave 7 showing shrine, antechamber and cells added to the porch, Ajanta (See page 106)

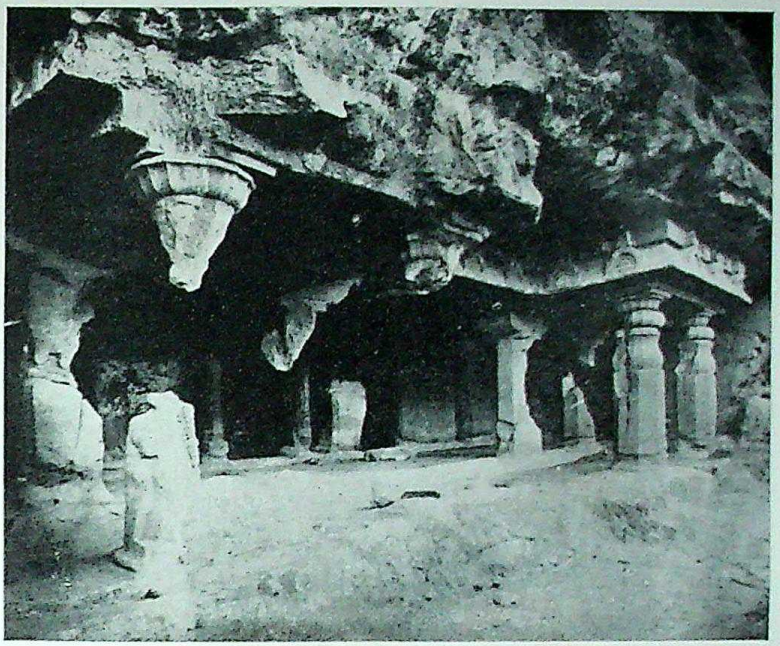

Fig. 23 Cave 7, Ajanta.

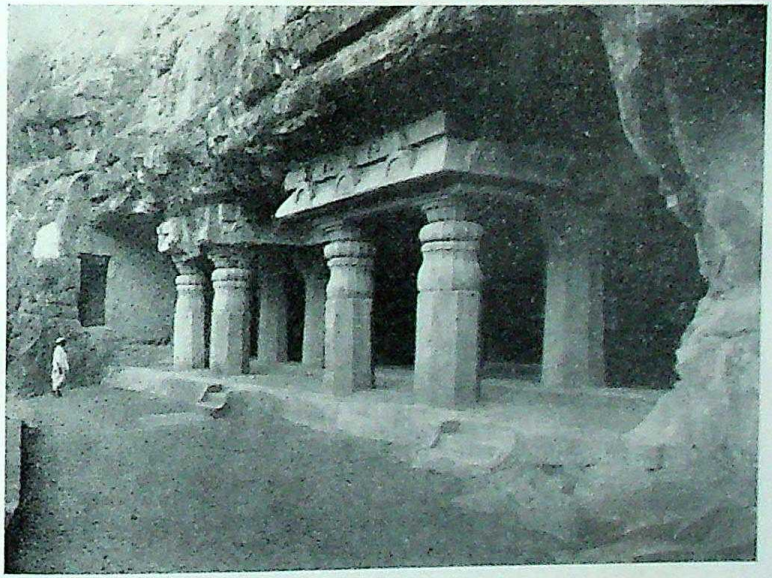

Fig. 24 Cave 7, Ajanta.

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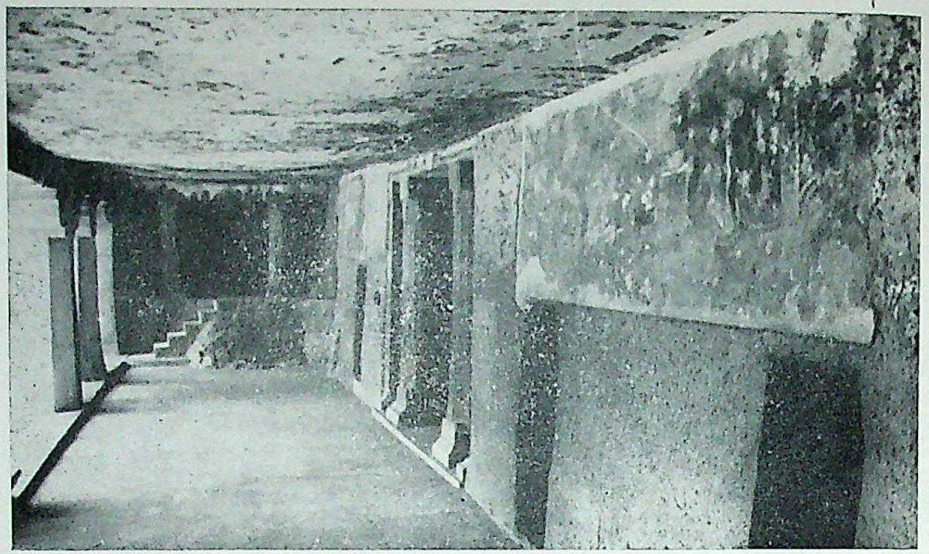

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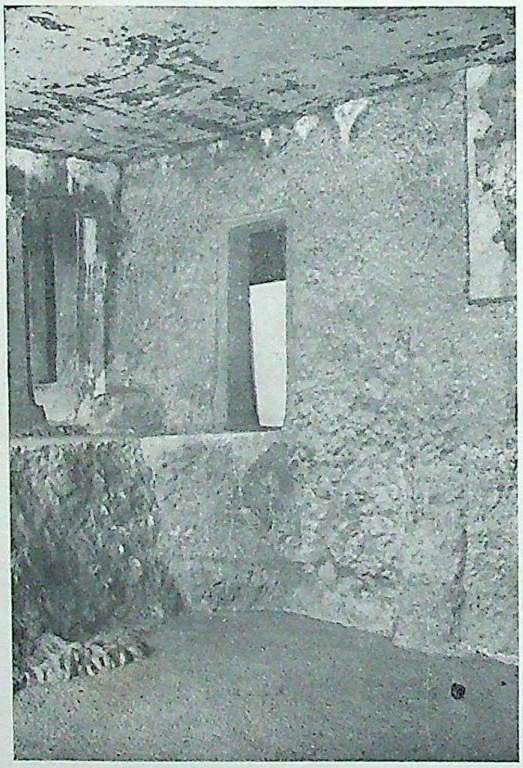

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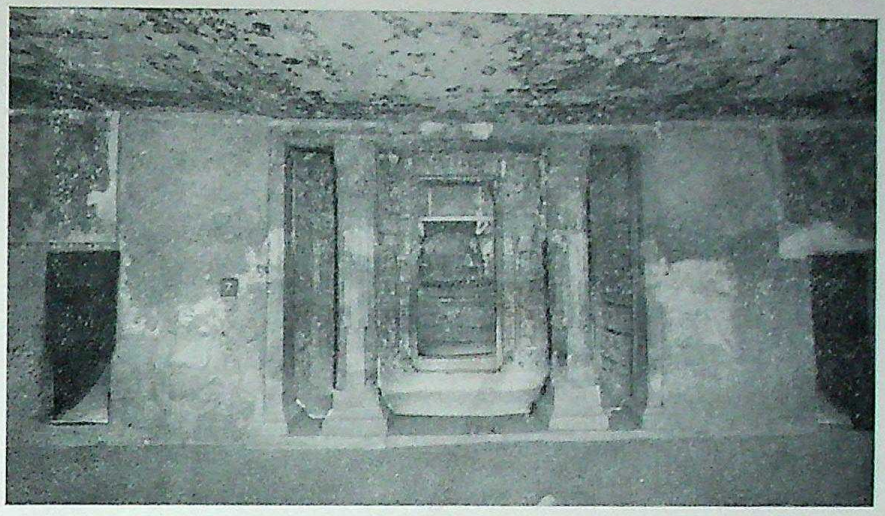

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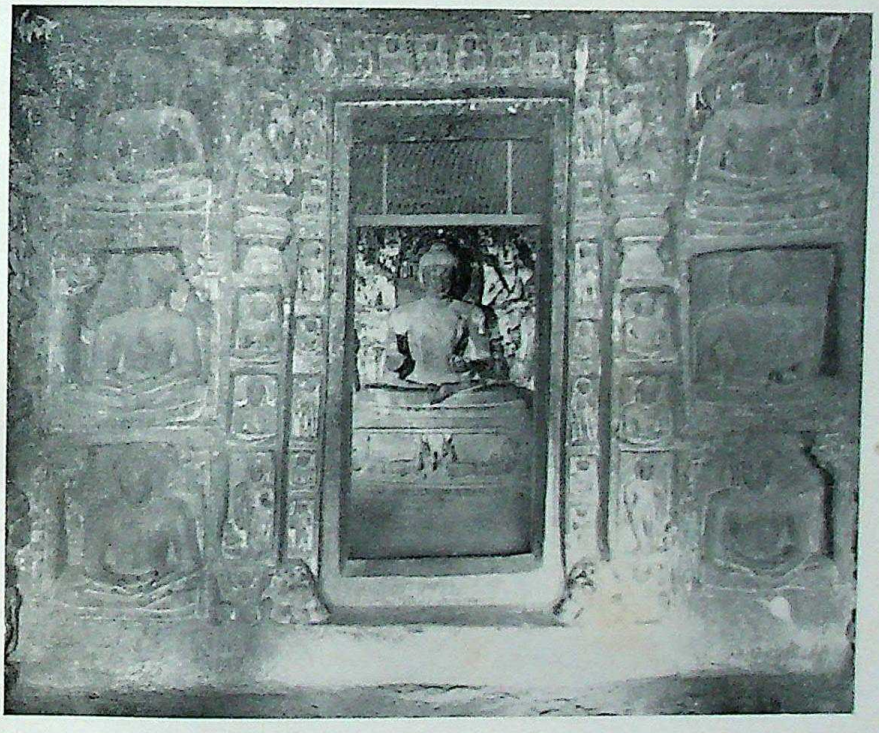

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Fig. 30. Conjectural reconstruction of the shrine, Cave 7.

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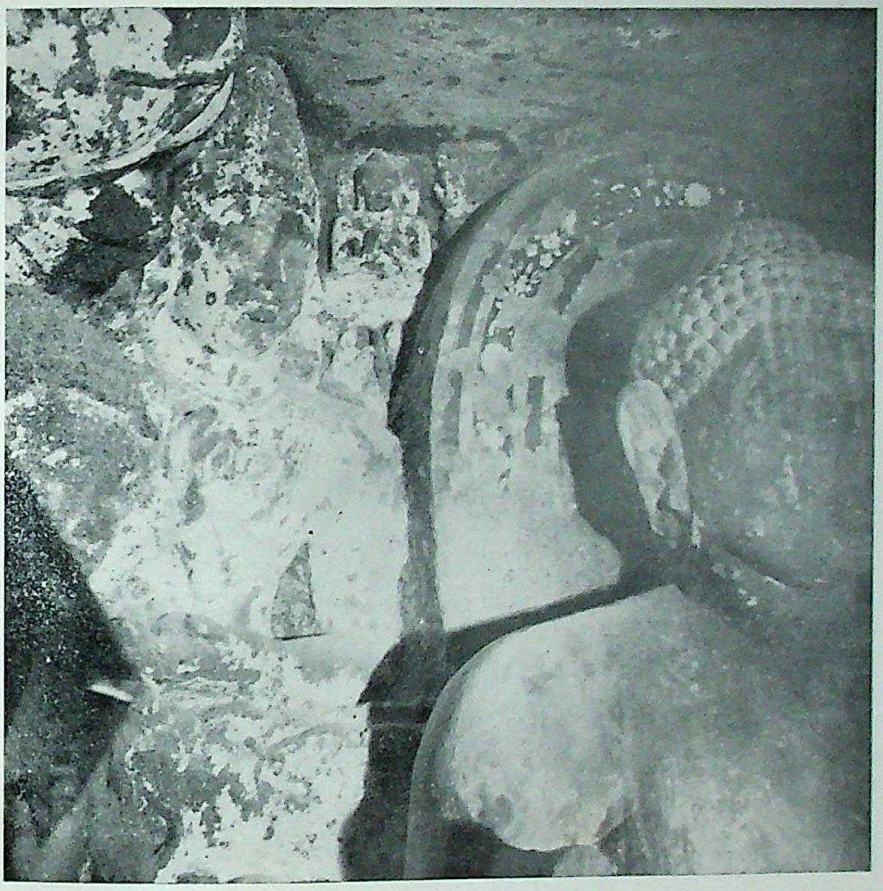

Fig. 31 Bodhisattvas.

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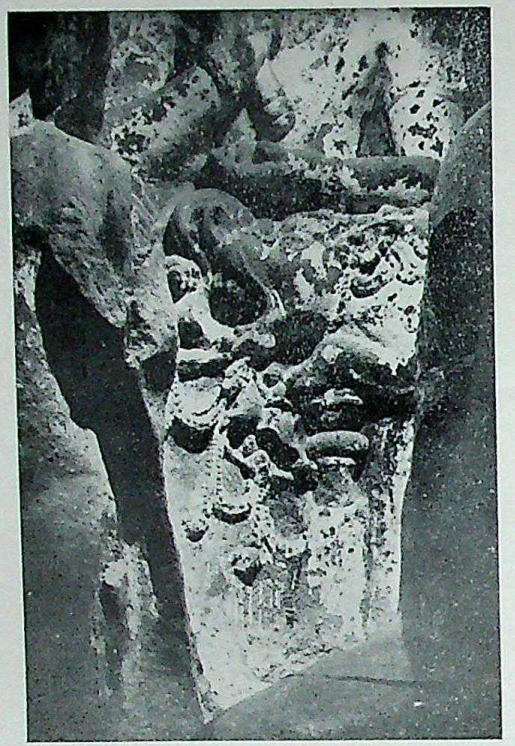

Fig. 32 Pillars in the throne-back design.

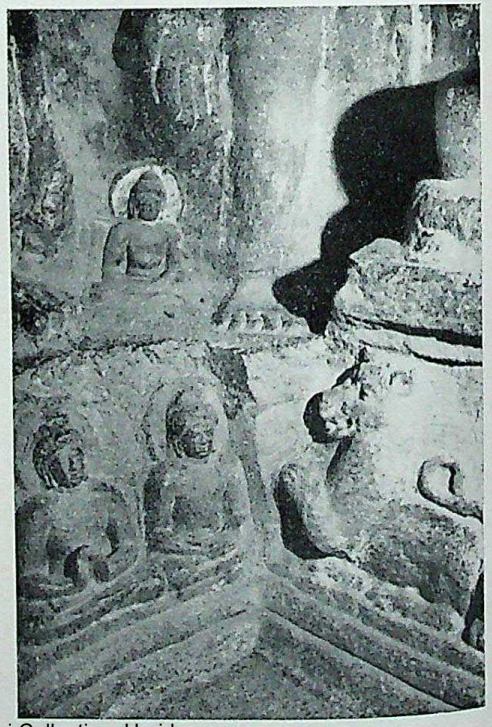

Fig 33. Lions on the throne base.

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Fig. 34 Standing Buddhas.

Fig. 35 Seated Buddhas inside the shrine.

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Fig. 36 Little seated Buddha inside the shrine.

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Fig. 37 Ceiling medallions covered with plaster.

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Fig. 38 Time chart (See page 104).

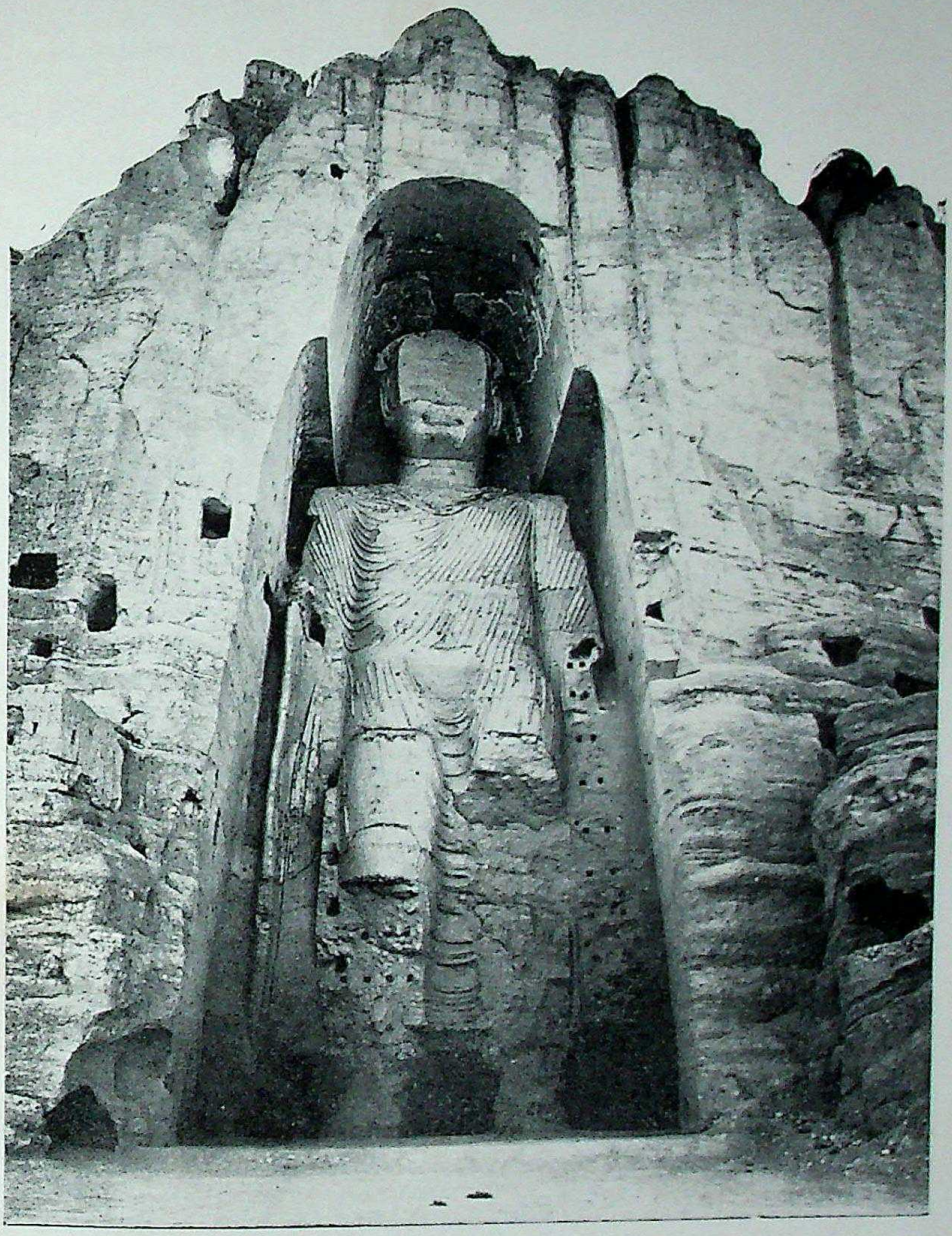

Fig. 39 Rock-carved 175 foot high Buddha image, Bamiyan.

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Fig. 40 Rock-carved 127 foot high Buddha image, Bamiyan.

Fig. 41 Map of Bamiyan Valley (See page 118).

Fig. 42 Representation of a deity in a chariot above the head of 127 foot high Buddha.

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43 A

43 B

Fig. 43 A & B Half figures of crowned rulers and royal ladies in the printed balconies on both sides of the small Buddha's head, Bamiyan

Fig. 44 Small painted figure of a donor wearing high collar and pleated coat (See page 124).

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Fig. 45 Pala period images of Amoghapasa.

Fig. 46 Six armed image of Amoghapasa.

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Fig. 47 Six-armed image of Amoghapasa.

Fig. 48 Amoghapasa image in Lucknow Museum.

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Fig. 49 Amoghapasa image in Patna Museum.

Fig. 50 Seated Amoghapasa image with Tara and Bhrkuti as attendants.

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Fig. 51 Seated Amoghapasa image with Tara and Bhrkuti as attendants.

Fig. 52 Seated Amoghapasa image with Tara and Bhrkuti as attendants.

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Fig. 53 Twelve-armed image of Avalokitasvara.

Fig. 54 Twelve-armed image of Avalokitasvara.

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The Book

This book is a collection of the important papers read during the International Conference on the History of Buddhism held in 1976 under the aegis of the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. The aim of this collection is to provide the scholars, who are attracted to Buddhist art, with a single volume, which will serve as a runway for their scholastic flights. Such a volume has now become a necessity because the bulk of materials required for the study of say, the impact of Buddhism on the religious and cultural practices of diverse people, the influence of Buddhism on the origin and growth of various regional schools of Buddhist art, etc. The topics included are: origin and early history of the Buddha image, the birth of the Buddha image, Buddhist narrative art, style of standing Buddha images, nature and meaning, religious practices and the art fostered during the tantric phase of Buddhist activities in South Asia. The text is profusely illustrated.

Price : Rs. 250.00 (For India only)
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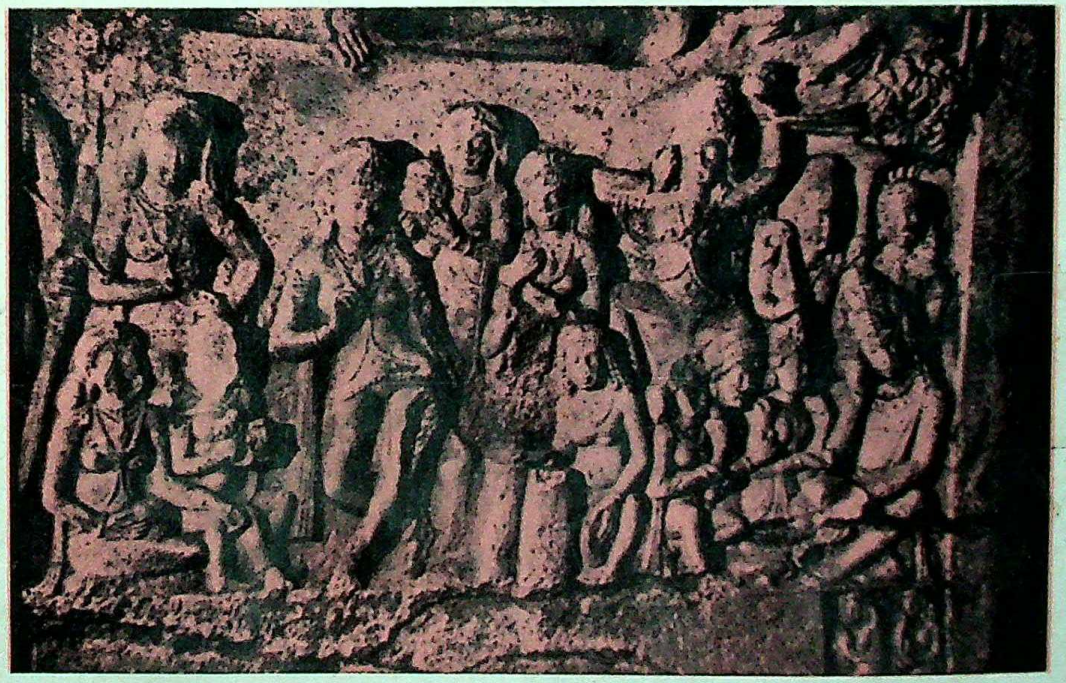

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